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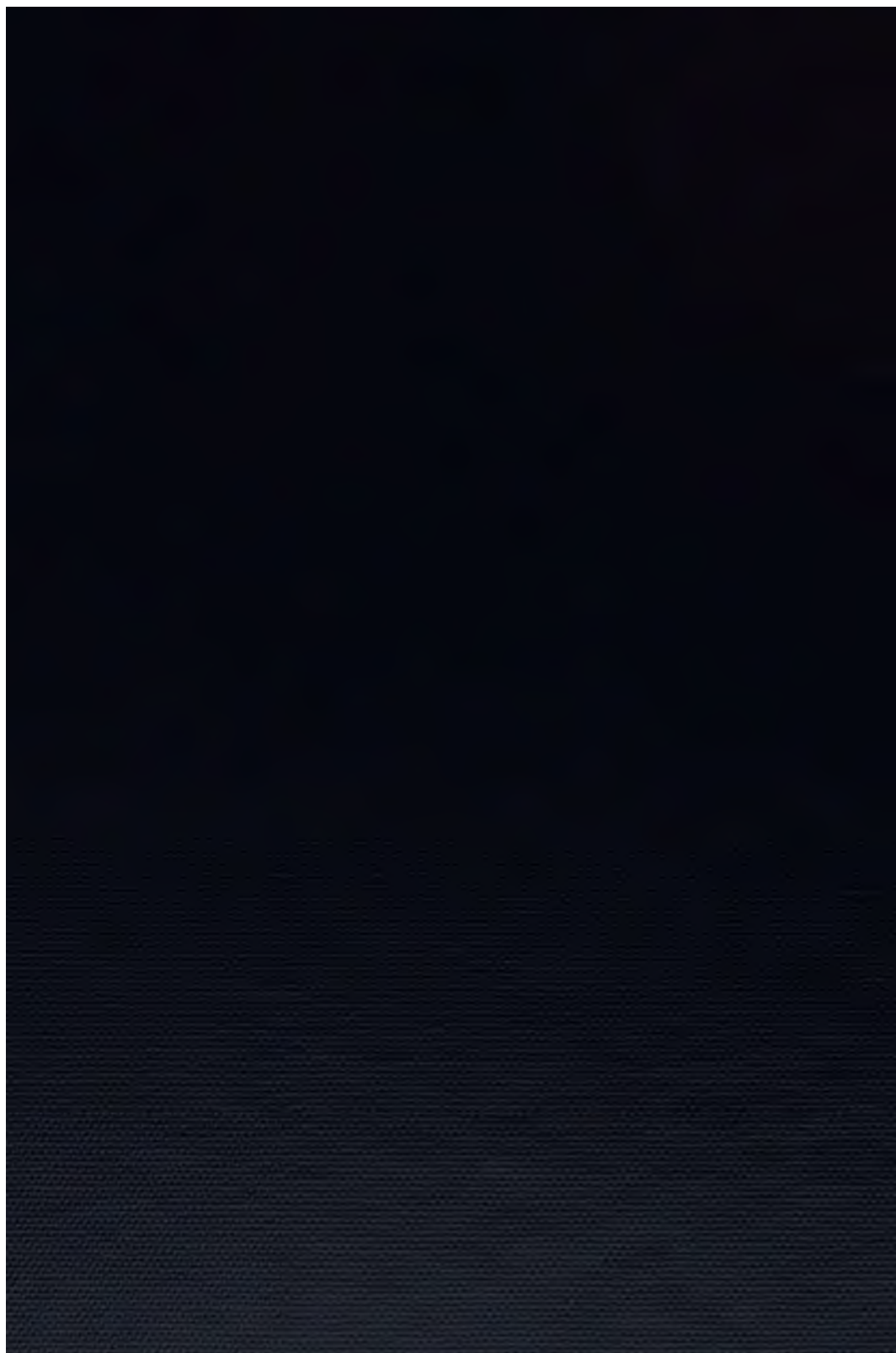
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Harvard College Library



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who died at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1686. In the absence of such descendants, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

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Engraved by S. T. Gower from a portrait by J. H. W. P.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wm. A. Crawford

Giant Days

—OR—

The Life and Times

—OF—

William H. Crawford

Embracing also excerpts from his Diary,
Letters and Speeches, together with a
copious index to the whole. ❁ ❁ ❁

—BY—

J. E. D. Shipp, A. B.

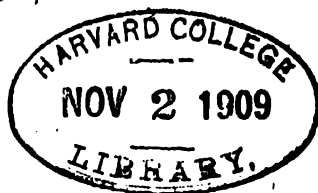
“Wherefore he who hath both the desire and power to acquaint himself thoroughly both with the customs and the learning of his ancestors, appears to me to have attained to the very highest glory and honor.”—Cicero.

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BY
J. E. D. SHIPP

DEDICATORY.

If I could write a biography worthy to be so-called, it would not be dedicated to the rich and powerful, to the martial hero, nor to the politician. I would rather dedicate to him who is doing most to rescue from oblivion the glorious and inspiring deeds of our ancestors and perpetuate the true history of our Southland; to the modest, patient, unselfish scholar and searcher after truth—such for example, as Ulrich B. Phillips, author of *GEORGIA AND STATE RIGHTS*.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

From my early boyhood I have desired to write a life of William H. Crawford.

The scantiness of the material, coupled with a conscious inability to do the subject justice, long deterred me from the attempt. Several years since when a number of rare American newspapers and political pamphlets prior to 1825 came into my possession, I resolved, with these as a nucleus, to search for more material bearing directly on the early history of Georgia and times in which Crawford lived.

His life and the history of the state are so interwoven as to be inseparable.

There are many persons to whom I have, during the preparation of this work, become indebted for assistance rendered. From Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Wisconsin, I received many helpful suggestions, and much Crawford correspondence obtained from descendants. Through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas M. Owens of Montgomery, Ala., I have been furnished with copies of many private letters of Crawford from the State archives of Alabama. These letters were placed there by the families of Judge Charles Tait and Hon. Bolling Hall, and have never been published.

Mrs. Mary Tait Beck of Camden, Ala., furnished letters received by her distinguished grandfather, Judge Charles Tait, written by Crawford and his contemporaries.

From Mr. W. H. C. Dudley and Col. W. H. C. Wheatley, both of Americus, Ga., I am indebted for a portrait of their common ancestor, Mrs. Susanna Girardin Crawford, and for many helpful suggestions in this pleasant labor.

I am particularly indebted to Library of Congress and New York State Library for rare items of Crawfordiana.

To Frank P. Brent, Esq., of Richmond, Va., Mr. I. L. Parrish of New York Historical Society, Mrs. Harlot Meri-

wether Lovett of Girard, Ga., Miss Loula Kendall Rogers of Barnesville, Ga., and Hon. A. O. Bacon, acknowledgements are also due.

This volume was written at night as recreation from the routine of a country law office. It is to be hoped that my untiring efforts to gather together the facts bearing on the subject portrayed will, in a measure, atone for imperfections of literary craftsmanship.

It is a matter of regret that none of the several large histories of Georgia make mention of the Revolutionary heroine, Nancy Hart. The sources therefore, from which the facts are derived in the digressive accounts given of her in this volume, are definitely set forth. Because her name more properly belongs to national rather than local history in the value of her services to the country is an additional reason for the space given her in the chapter devoted to the touchstone period of our country's development.

J. E. D. SHIPP.

Americus, Ga., Oct. 4, 1908.

FOREWORD.

This is the simple narrative of many of the most important events which serve to make up the life and character of one who lived in the public eye during that period of our country's history which is least known, when more weighty subjects were discussed and passed upon, more difficulties removed from the free administrations of government and more political fallacies broached and eradicated than at any other period of our national existence. This is the story of an interesting career but poorly told, of one who in the baptism of fame gave to himself his own name—a Georgia plow boy, teacher and lawyer, who became legislator, United States Senator, cabinet officer, diplomat, and the nominee of a great party for President. It covers the period of two wars with Great Britain, and treats of those turbulent times in the beginning of the nineteenth century when the whole theory of government was subjected to an inquisition that spared neither the ancient and venerable, the good and great nor the bad and weak, in the scales of honesty and justice they were all weighed and their true merit ascertained. It is an era which not only embraces the revolutionizing of our national policy, but marks the settlement of all Western Georgia by the whites after the expulsion of the aborigines. It embraces the times of the stupendous Yazoo Fraud, and the origin of the Crawford and Clark parties which were destined to exceed all bounds and precedents and inaugurate a regime never to be forgotten for its ravenous partisan zeal for supremacy in State politics.

One can but observe with deep regret that so many names in this State, richly deserving their country's respect and gratitude, for the lack of contemporaneous chroniclers and eminent artists to give value to their fame, are scarcely remembered, their merits forgotten or their valuable services ascribed to others. Even when these names occur in general history, the true significance of their careers is not educed; or like Hortensius of old, who while glimmeringly acknowledged as a greater than Cicero, yet his fame lives only in the eulogies of his rivals.

In the National Portrait gallery of Eminent Americans, published in Philadelphia 1839, appears the most extended sketch of William H. Crawford. This authentic narrative covers less than twelve pages. The author was the accom-

plished Geo. M. Dudley, the husband of Mr. Crawford's eldest daughter, Caroline, who was her father's private secretary. This sketch by Mr. Dudley after leaving his hands was sheared, abridged and emasculated by the publisher to such an extent as to destroy its harmonious arrangement, and pervert the proposed historical accuracy by witless pruning. Interesting minutiae and intimate details were lost by ellision, when it was of utmost importance that they should be preserved. The real, virile Crawford was denied rehabilitation by an editor's demand for the popular, trite, stock expressions and meagre statements long accepted as covering the subject.

The manuscript and valuable material that Mr. Dudley had acquired for an extended biography were all destroyed by fire at the burning of his residence in Americus, Ga., several years before his death in 1867.

In the wholesome and friendly competition of different sections of the country over the comparative merits of their great men who figured conspicuously during the eventful and formative period embracing the first half of the nineteenth century, each State, with one notable exception, has chronicled in voluminous tomes the life of her favorite son. Massachusetts boasts the ponderous biographies of her Adams; Kentucky, the full score writers who extol her Clay; New York her Van Buren; Tennessee her Jackson; South Carolina her Calhoun; but Georgia's gifted Crawford, the compeer of these, has never had a single volume to record his services.

Indeed the following pages represent the first sustained effort to collect fragmentary sketches and obscure data and weld together as a connected whole the facts which may enable one in some degree to judge of the life and character of the greatest Georgian.

Crawford lived more in deeds than in words. The bigoted hierophant of an editor or the sycophantic penny-a-liner received no encouragement from him. He never played to the galleries. While with worthy ambition he strove for great ends, he never paused like so many statesmen, to emblazon the way and point to methods for his own aggrandizement. In the scarce and scattered records of his public career, which by patient effort may be gleaned from the rare newspapers, magazines and pamphlets handed down from his day, there are few recorded monuments of his genius. He accomplished few notable feats of statesmanship, and in his active, strenuous life wrote little that is now read. Yet with remarkable unanimity all who knew him or who have written of him proclaim his powerful personality and reckon him the peer of any man of his age.

Giant Days

OR

The Life and Times

OF

William H. Crawford

CHAPTER I.

A CHAPTER OF GENEALOGY.

The name Crawford signifies in Gaelic the pass of blood, from "cru" bloody and "ford" a pass. The following lines on John, Earl of Crawford, and his valor at the battle of Gratzka, may be found in a volume of poems by W. Bewick printed at New Castle-on-Tyne 1752:

"Descended from a family as good
As Scotland boasts, and from right ancient blood,
You are the ornament of all your race,
The splendor and the glory and their praise..
What courage you have shown, illustrious Scot!
In future ages will not be forgot."

This John Crawford, born 1600 in Ayrshire, Scotland, was the first of the blood to reach these shores in 1643. His only child, David, came with him, his wife having died in Scotland. He was killed during "Bacon's Rebellion" in Virginia in 1676. Although seventy-six years old, this sturdy hero of Gratzka, did not hesitate to enter into the great struggle for political rights which sowed the seeds of the American Revolution. In this he only evinced that valorous spirit that has distinguished his lineage as lovers of freedom.

His son David, born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1625, married in James City County, Virginia, in 1654. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Nicholas Meriwether. * (2) Judith married Robert Lewis; (3) Angelina married William McGuire; (4) Captain David married Elizabeth Smith in 1695; he died July

*See "The Meriwethers and Their Connections," by Louisa H. A. Minor. Page 2.

1762 aged a few months more than a hundred years. His wife, Elizabeth, was also a centenarian. From Captain David Crawford and Elizabeth Smith have descended a numerous progeny that have settled over the South and West.

David, son of Captain, born in Hanover County, Virginia, 1697 and died 1766, married Ann Anderson in 1727; their fifth child, Joel, was born in Hanover County 1736, moved with his father to Amherst County 1750, married Fanny Harris in 1760, died 1788. Their children were (1) Ann, married Joel Barnett, her cousin; (2) Robert, married Elizabeth Maxwell; (3) Joel, married Ann Barnett, his cousin; (4) David, married Mary Lee Wood; (5) Lucy, married James Tinsley; (6) William Harris, married Susanna Gerardin; (7) Elizabeth, married William Glenn, (2) William Rhymes; (8) Charles, died unmarried; (9) Fanny, married David Crawford; (10) Nathan, died unmarried; (11) Bennet, married (1) Nancy Crawford, (2) Martha Crawford, sisters of David, who married Fanny Crawford. Thomas Crawford, father of Nancy and Martha, was the grandfather of Hon. Martin J. Crawford of Columbus, Ga.

It has not been a difficult matter to trace this branch of the family, as so many of the descendants have kept family trees in old Bibles which give their genealogy back to John Crawford of Ayreshire, Scotland, their common ancestor.

The Crawfords were generally of large stature, sinewy, and of great physical endurance; with square chins, blonde complexions, prominent noses, blue eyes and sanguine temperaments. They bear a striking family resemblance. The frequent intermarriage among different branches of the family, intensified the peculiar traits and features that distinguished them. Dr. R. D. Barrett of Virginia writes: "They were brave, public spirited, patriotic, clannish, slow to anger, but when aroused—lions. There was a spark of genius in all, but it blazed smouldering in some. The oldest ones liked their ease and were always temperate. I have heard my grandfather say they had crooked little fingers. They were a martial, self-reliant and intelligent race."

Gov. Geo. W. Crawford of Georgia in a sketch of the family remarks: "The American Crawfords never forgot the Scotchman's prayer 'that they might not have a good opinion of themselves.'"

The mother of William H. Crawford, Fanny Harris, was the daughter of one of the early settlers of Rockfish Valley, Virginia, and of Scotch-Irish descent.

The Harris family was prominent in County and State affairs, and many times members of it represented Albermarle and Nelson Counties in the General Assembly. They were and are people of highest social standing. Isham G. Harris, Governor of Tennessee and long a distinguished member of the United States Senate, was of this family; as were also, Judge John W. Harris, member of Supreme Court of Texas, and his brother, Sam Harris, Lieutenant-Governor of that State.

It is seen, therefore, that William Harris Crawford had an honorable pedigree. His ancestors, of the good old Scottish stock in Virginia were sterling, hardy and temperate people, and bequeathed to him the precious legacy of a good name. But whether he descended from earl or farmer, he was well-born, for he was endowed by nature with the ability to win honor and fame for his name. He was born on February 24th, 1772, in that part of Amherst County Virginia out of which Nelson County has since been formed. In a fertile valley watered by the beautiful Rockfish River and hemmed in by the lofty peaks of the Blue Ridge, stood the old brick mansion that was the Crawford home. The plantation, still known as the "Crawford place," is twelve miles distant from Rockfish Station on the Southern Railway, and is now owned by Mr. Henry Page of Greenfield, Nelson County, Virginia. The family mansion was standing until very recently. On Virginia's most fertile soil, environed by scenery of surpassing loveliness, the birth place of Crawford seemed a favored spot. Here Nature presents a panorama of beauty and grandeur, celebrated in song and romance, and which defies the painter's brush, here amid browsing herds of sheep and kine on the mountain side, green fields of tobacco and waving acres of corn in the rich valleys, was Crawford's home until his seventh year. He was cradled in the presaging times immediately preceding the Revolution, and the temper of those giant days must have entered into his blood to mould in grand proportions, brawn and brain. "The part of the country in which Mr. Crawford was born is said to have been famous for large men. A Mr. Spencer lived there who had the reputation of being the largest man in the world." *

He was only one year of age when Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson and Richard Henry Lee were appointed a committee from Virginia to urge upon the other colonies the Declaration of Independence, which caused them to spring forth united as a free nation like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter—full grown and panoplied.

*White's Statistics of Georgia. Page 199.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAR IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.

Financial reverses came to the Crawford home in Virginia, and in 1779 Joel Crawford with his family removed from the Old Dominion and settled in Edgefield District, South Carolina, on Stevens Creek about thirty miles above Augusta. William Harris was a strong and well-developed boy, and although only seven years of age rendered his father assistance on the farm at this time. There were many things to cause heart burnings and feverish anxiety to the elder Crawford, as we shall see later on, but the question uppermost in his mind seems to have been the proper education of his children. To accomplish this he was ready to make any sacrifice. There was a school in the neighborhood, and here young Crawford during a few weeks each year assiduously applied himself, and evinced unusual capacity for receiving instruction. The father's soul was stirred within him as he witnessed the eagerness and aptitude of the boy, and he desired for him better opportunities than could be obtained in the short terms of the country schools of Edgefield. Here father and son formed a compact with firm purpose to gain the object—education—over all obstacles.

Joel Crawford owned a few slaves, and the product of the farms of Edgefield District had a ready market at Augusta. The important scene of the Revolution at this time had been transferred from the North to the State of Georgia. In 1779 Savannah and Augusta were both captured and held by the British, and soon after the entire State fell into the hands of the enemy. Georgia saw the Loyalist Governor, James Wright, restored, and once again the State became a royal province. The patriots by a terrible system of persecution were forced to abandon their homes and flee northward. In the winter, therefore, the Crawford family moved north over Broad River into Chester District. But quietude and safety was not to be enjoyed, even in this interior retreat. There were disastrous breakers ahead, and the most serious trouble that had yet befallen this household was now impending.

In an animated speech in 1779 President Rawlins Lowndes addressed the South Carolina Legislature in the following words: "Our inveterate and obdurate enemy being foiled in the Northern States, and by valor and good conduct of the inhabitants, compelled to abandon their hopes of conquest there, have turned their arms more immediately against

the Southern States in hopes of better success. They are now in possession of Savannah, the Capital of Georgia, from whence if not prevented an easy transition may be made into this country. This situation of danger, gentlemen, calls for your most serious consideration." To these spirited sentiments the House of Representatives responded in an address of which the following is a part: "We conceive ourselves bound by all the difference there is between the horrors of slavery and the blessings of liberty, to use every means in our power to expel them from our country."

Major General Lincoln with his two thousand effective continentals indiscreetly determined to defend Charleston to the last. This city was wealthy and numbered at that time fifteen thousand inhabitants. There were no forts or ramparts and General Lincoln could rely for its defense only on the temporary field works which he was able to construct. Sir Henry Clinton who was then in command of the Royal Army swooped down on the city like a summer storm determined with a force five times greater to annihilate at one fell blow the only army of the Continental Government in the South. Lincoln made the first attempt in the whole American war to defend a town, and his disastrous defeat demonstrated that American independence could never be achieved in this way. Washington in vain had advised that the army should keep to the open country where it could be free to attack or retreat, and never to risk a siege. By this blunder Lincoln and his whole army were captured and South Carolina, like Georgia, was completely overrun by the British.

The deplorable condition of this period is thus graphically described by Bancroft: "Before the end of three months after the capture of Savannah all the property, real and personal, of the rebels in Georgia was disposed of. For further gains Indians were encouraged to bring in slaves wherever they could find them. All families in South Carolina were subjected to the visits of successive sets of banditti, who received commissions as volunteers with no pay or emolument but that derived from rapine, and who roaming about at pleasure robbed the plantations alike of patriots and loyalists. The property of the greater part of South Carolina was confiscated, families were divided, patriots outlawed and savagely assaulted, houses burned, and women and children driven shelterless into the forest; districts so desolated that they seemed the abode only of orphans and widows."

Congressman John Houston of Georgia, grieved at the oppressive measures inflicted on his people wrote to Mr. Jay: "Our misfortunes are under God the source of our safety. When they have wrought up the spirit of the people to fury and desperation they will be driven from the country." The British commander indulged the delusive idea that he had established a lasting peace by crushing the strength and spirit of his seemingly helpless victims, and commanded that all the inhabitants of the State, even those who were prisoners on parol, should take a part in securing the royal government. All who refused allegiance were to be treated as rebels to the King.

Joel Crawford was among those who were seized as rebels and carried to Camden jail. Gaunt, hungry, miserable, subjected to taunts of every passing Tory, this American prisoner with about two hundred and fifty others, without medical attention and with only a scant supply of bad bread, passed his time away in confinement with feverish anxiety and suffering. His family was not perhaps in a worse condition during the eventful summer of 1780 because of his absence. There was on a war of Whig and Tory—small, sharp, internecine warfare of brother against brother. Each side vied with the other, in bitterest hatred to kill the fighting men and partisans of their opponents. The absence of a father from home in these perilous times of Scotch-Indian warfare was often a better protection to his family than his presence; for prowling murderous adversaries dogged the steps of every man able to bear arms. The greater part of this period was passed by Joel Crawford as a rebel prisoner of war, and not until late in the summer was his release secured by some of his loyalist neighbors becoming his security.* At last, then, from this dreary prison house he returned to his sorrow stricken and helpless family, who longed for his protecting husbandry.

Among the prisoners confined by the British at Camden Jail, was a tall, slender, blue-eyed, freckled faced, red haired lad of fourteen years. He had been captured near his widowed mother's home in the Waxhaw settlement near the Catawba River on the boundary line between the two Carolinas. He had borne arms and the cruel Tories had felt his power, young as he then was. Game to the core was he. When ordered by the British officer to brush his boots, this spirited youth with Spartan dignity replied:

"Sir, I am a prisoner of war and claim treatment as

**Sherwood's Ga. Gazetteer, (1829).*

such." The answer of the enraged and demoniacal officer was a cutting blow on the boy's head with a sword. His life was saved only by the interposition of his left hand. There were two cruel wounds, one on his hand and a deep gash in his head that Andrew Jackson carried to his grave. "I'll warrant that Andy thought of it at New Orleans," said an aged relative of his afterwards to Jackson's biographer. *

When the weary summer was advancing and the prisoners were worn and wasted by hunger, disease and feculency Jackson was released by an exchange of prisoners, effected by his mother's patient might of love, so that he returned to his home in North Carolina. He was an invalid for several months, but slowly regained health.

During these strenuously exciting times of plunder, sudden devastations, exploits and surprises in partisan warfare, there was scarcely an interval of serenity. No section suffered more than South Carolina and Georgia. So hopeless seemed their condition that they were dubbed the "Lost Colonies." Here the Tories were most numerous and exasperatingly cruel. No adequate idea can be given in this brief memoir of the sufferings, services and sacrifices of the women of this period who forgetful of their feebleness and timidity, dared to face dangers scarcely compatible with the delicacy of their dispositions. Nature responded to the needs and exigencies of this Revolutionary struggle and produced men and women of giant mould and heroic qualities equal to the occasion. There were desperate leaders of the Tories, Tarleton, Fanning and Rawdon, whose atrocities became notorious, and desperately indeed, did the Whig partisan bands of Francis Marion, Elijah Clark and James Jackson revenge themselves on the perpetrators.

Georgia from the hills of Habersham to the glades of the Okefinokee and from the Savannah to the Oconee was being swept by the besom of war. The British were holding Fort Cornwallis at Augusta, and sending out frequent parties of raiders to forage on the Whigs and harrass the "rebels" into submission.

Col. John Dooly of the Georgia Militia was a brave and intrepid soldier. He commanded the right wing of Col. Elijah Clark's forces at the battle of Kettle Creek, and greatly contributed to the splendid victory of the Americans. After this signal action he was engaged in defending the frontier, and many a traitor on the border lines of Georgia and South

*Parton's Life of Jackson. Vol. I, page 89.

Carolina felt the force of his stroke. In this great work he became a terror to predatory Tories. In order to effectually rid themselves of this brave partisan who had rendered such conspicuous service on both sides of the Savannah River, a party of Tories was sent out from Augusta who ascertained that he was enjoying a short respite at his home, and murdered him at midnight while in bed and in the presence of his loved ones.

The whole country was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement over the fiendish murder of this gray-haired warrior who was loved by all who held dear the American cause. Wilkes County, the home of Dooly and Clark, was called "The Hornets' Nest" by the British on account of the valor of the inhabitants.

The war now, on the part of the British, was one of pillaging incursions and assassinations. The Tories exceeded the savage Indians in their numerous atrocities. The cry of vengeance went up to Heaven, and the blood of the dead Dooly gave force and inspiration to the patriots throughout the land. The arm of the weak and wavering was nerved to renewed action on hearing of the foul murder of this popular defender of his people. Dooly was in his grave, but Clark, Pickens, Marion, Twiggs and Jackson, with their brave and scattered forces, never kissed the hand that smote their people. Amid a saturnalia of blood and carnage the British, with their superior numbers, had trodden the proud states of South Carolina and Georgia under foot; yet these people were born free, and the despot's heel could never make them slaves.

If an individual instance of woman's patriotism is called for in order to form a succinct idea of the temper of the times, and by one example glean a glimpse of the ardent and faithful few who could never be subdued by the severest measures, then no greater record of feminine bravery can be found in the annals of this or any other country than in the thrilling narrative of Nancy Hart.

This story is well told in that interesting book "Georgians," written by Governor George R. Gilmer, who was a close friend and associate of Crawford. It is also related in "Ellet's Women of the Revolution," and charmingly set forth in "White's Historical Collections of Georgia," and more minutely sketched by Mrs. Loula Kendall Rogers of Tennille, Ga., who is related to this Revolutionary heroine. *

*Atlanta Journal, issue of October 14, 1901.

As William H. Crawford was reared very near her home, and her adventures told again and again among the people of that day in the South, the narration of her heroic virtues could but make a lasting impression upon one of his temperament. It seems, therefore, not improper to make some reference to this remarkable woman in his biography.

THE STORY OF NANCY HART.

On the north side of Broad River at a point about twelve miles from the present city of Elberton, Ga., and fourteen from historic Petersburg, in what is now Elbert County, was situated the log house in which Benjamin Hart and his wife, Nancy Morgan Hart, lived at the commencement of the Revolution. The spot is easily located to this day as being near Dye's and Well's ferries, and on the opposite side of the river from which Governor Matthews settled in 1784, near a small and romantic stream known as "War Woman's Creek." This was the name given to it by the Indians in honor of Nancy Hart, whom they admired and feared. Her home was near the entrance of the stream into the river. The State records show that Benjamin Hart drew four hundred acres of land on Broad River, and afterwards another body of land in Burke County. He was a brother to the celebrated Col. Thomas Hart of Kentucky, who was father of the wife of Henry Clay. He was a well to do farmer, and was compelled to take his stock and negroes to the swamp to save them and his own life from the unrestrained Tories. As captain of a small company of "Partisans" he would sally forth from his hiding place only when there was a chance of striking the enemy an effective blow. The Tories generally spared the women, but killed the men who were found unarmed. Nancy Hart, alone with six boys—Morgan, John, Thomas, Benjamin, Lemuel and Mark, and her two girls, Sally and Keziah—presents a unique case of patriotic fervor, courage and independence of character unparalleled in history. Rough, unmanageable, six feet tall, spare, bigboned and exceedingly strong, she was high spirited, energetic and shrewd, and delighted in her prowess and physical strength. The whigs all loved her—she was hospitable and kind to them. The Liberty boys called her "Aunt Nancy." The Tories feared and hated her unrelentingly.

When General Elijah Clark moved the women and children away from Broad River settlement to a place of safety in Kentucky most of them were anxious to go, but Nancy

refused, and remained alone with her children after her Whig neighbors had departed. Her life was in constant danger, but she was resolute, and inspired the Tories with a wholesome dread, and for a long dismal period she stood her ground. Her house was a meeting place for her husband's company. She aided as a spy and kept him informed of the movements of the enemy. She always went to the mill entirely alone, as she was an expert equestrienne. One day while on her rounds she was met by a band of Tories with the British colors striped on their hats and clothing; they knew her and asked for her "pass." She shook her fist at them and replied: "This is my pass; touch me if you dare." Being amused at her answer, and wishing to have some fun, they dismounted the old lady and threw her corn to the ground, laughing at her trouble; but she was not disconcerted in the least; she coolly lifted the two and a half bushels of corn and proceeded to the mill. She often boastingly said she could do what few men could, and that was to stand in a half bushel measure and shoulder two and a half bushels of corn. Tories lived on the other side of the river opposite her home, and she had many trials with them, as they enjoyed worrying her. There was a large oak stump near her house in which she cut a notch for her gun. Concealing herself in the undergrowth around she watched for Tories as they crossed the river, and without compunction shot them down, then blew the conch shell for her husband to deliver their bodies to the proper authorities. *

One night "Aunt Nancy" was boiling a pot of lye soap in the big fireplace of her stack chimney, and talking to her children in her jovial way. Suddenly she noticed a pair of eyes and a bearded face at a crack between the logs of the cabin. Pretending not to see the prowling eavesdropper she went on stirring the soap, and chatting spiritedly of an escape with the Tories. She talked and stirred at a lively rate, covertly watching the crack where were the pair of eyes. Quickly and deftly she dashed a ladleful of the boiling soap in the face of the intruder, who, blinded and roaring with pain, Nancy bound fast. The next morning she marched her big prisoner across Broad River with his hands tied securely behind him. With her trusted rifle in one hand and her petticoats raised above her knees with the other, she waded the ford, still driving her prisoner before her. Four miles away to the American camp she marched and delivered her unlucky captive to General Clark.

*Mrs. Rogers.

One day very near her dwelling "Aunt Nancy" met a Tory. She engaged in conversation with him, and after a while diverted his attention and seized his gun. There was a lively wrestle over the weapon, but her superior strength gained the mastery and she marched him down the river a mile and a half to a fort known as the Old Block House and turned him over as a prisoner of war to its commander. All through Georgia and the Carolinas Nancy soon became famous. Her courage and confidence rekindled the smouldering sparks of liberty in hearts that were weary and ready to faint.

Among all the many acts of heroism ascribed to her there is one that apparently eclipses all others, because performed at a time when stoutest hearts most drooped and faith in the American cause was waning. This feat was one that evinced her skill and nerve, and brought into action all the audacity, tact and devotion of her strong character.

From the detachment of British soldiers sent out from Augusta, and which murdered Colonel Dooly, there were five who diverged to the east and crossed Broad River to examine the neighborhood and pay a visit to Nancy Hart. They unceremoniously entered her cabin, receiving from her a scowl, and accused her of secreting a rebel from a company of King's men. Nancy undauntedly admitted the accusation, and did not attempt to conceal her enmity. Being hungry they offered her money to prepare them something to eat. She replied that she never fed traitors and King's men if she could help it; for the villains had put it out of her power to feed her own family and friends by slaughtering her poultry and pigs. "The old gobbler out there in the yard is all I have left," said Nancy. In an instant the leader of the party shot down the turkey, brought it into the house and ordered her to cook it without delay. She stormed awhile, but at last disposing to make a virtue of necessity she began with alacrity arrangements for the cooking, assisted by her children. Finally she overheard her unwelcomed guests talking of their having killed Colonel Dooly. After hearing this Nancy appeared to be in a good humor, and now and then exchanged rude jest with the men. Pleased with her freedom, they invited her to partake of some of their liquor, an invitation which she pretended to accept with jocose thanks.

During the progress of the cooking Nancy sent her eldest daughter to the spring for water with directions to blow on the conch shell for her father in such a way as to inform him that there were Tories in the cabin.

As the cooking progressed the Tories became merry over their jug, anticipating a feast upon the slaughtered gobbler. They stacked their arms within easy reach, and Nancy would occasionally pass between the men and their muskets. The Tories called for water, and our heroine having contrived that there should be none in the cabin the daughter was the second time dispatched to the spring to blow a signal on the conch shell which would immediately summon Captain Hart and his company.

Nancy all this time was thinking fast for furious action. Trough a crack between the logs of the cabin she slipped outside two of the five guns. When the third was being put out the Tories discovered her, and sprang to their feet. In an instant Nancy brought the musket to her shoulder, declaring she would kill the first man that moved. Appalled by her bold audacity and fury, the men for a moment stood still; then one of them made a quick movement to advance upon her. True to the word she fired and shot him dead. Instantly seizing the other musket at her side she leveled it, keeping the others at bay. By this time the daughter had returned from the spring, and taking up the other gun, she carried it out of the house, saying to her mother: "Father and the company will soon be here." The Tories were alarmed at this information, and realized the importance of recovering their arms at once. They proposed a general rush. No time was to be lost by the bold woman; another fire and a second Tory lay dead at her feet. The daughter handed her another musket and Nancy, moving to the doorway, demanded in strident tones the surrender of their carcasses to a Whig woman. "Yes, we will surrender," said they; "let's shake hands on the strength of it." Nancy was not to be outwitted by an outstretched hand, but held them at bay until her husband and neighbors came up to the door. When Captain Hart's company was about to shoot the Tories Nancy stopped them, saying: "These prisoners have surrendered to me; they have murdered Colonel Dooly—I overheard them say so." Her advice was enough.

These captured murderers of Colonel Dooly were headed by one McCorkle, who lived in South Carolina. George Dooly, brother to the deceased, was with Captain Hart, and never gave up the chase until he saw the prisoners hanged. *

Tory Pond, near the home of Colonel Dooly, in Lincoln County, where the Tories were hanged, is a dismal spot, six

*Gazetteer (published in 1829) page 198.

miles northeast of Lincolnton, Ga., situated on the roadside on the edge of a dense forest. The one grave in which the three were buried is plainly discernible to this day.

Governor Gilmer, who wrote so interestingly of Nancy Hart, notes the roughness acquired by her terrible environment, but describes her as possessing many sterling qualities. She was a great friend to his mother, who often visited her. In 1828-9, when he was congressman from Georgia, a proposal was made to fill the vacant niches in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington with paintings descriptive of the battles fought by General Jackson. In order to pay tribute to this famous war woman of the Revolution, Gov. Gilmer offered an amendment to substitute a painting of Nancy Hart wading Broad River, her petticoats held up with one hand, a musket in the other and marching three Tories before her to be delivered to General Elijah Clark. * This amendment was defeated, and the greatest heroine of the Revolution was refused the honor due to her bravery.

John Hart, the second son of Nancy, became an influential and wealthy gentleman, and lived near Athens, Ga. He married Patience Lane in 1787. After his father's death Nancy lived with him. By an act of the Legislature of Georgia passed Dec. 5th, 1801, John Hart was appointed with four others to fix on the most convenient places to hold elections in his county, and because of this work in naming it as the site he has been termed one of the fathers of Watkinsville, Ga.

Nancy Hart was possessed of considerable property, and her descendants were well provided for by her.

In 1787, when the two Virginia preachers, Thomas Humphreys and John Majors, were holding a great campmeeting in Wilkes County, Georgia, many of the inhabitants were moved by their teachings to embrace the doctrine of John Wesley. She was among those who fervently espoused the cause, and became a staunch adherent of the new faith. She made several changes of residence—one to St. Marys, Ga., and other places—and finally, with her family, moved to Kentucky, where her relatives, the Morgans, lived. Hart County is the only one in Georgia named for a woman, and the town of Hartford, which in 1810 was the county seat of Pulaski County, was also named in her honor. Many of her descendants reside in Georgia, and treasure with pardonable pride her virtues, and fondly relate the traditions of her great name.

*Gilmer's Georgiana.

CHAPTER III.

THE OLD FIELD SCHOOL.

The Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Paris Nov. 30, 1782, and the Thirteen States were declared free and sovereign. After the war was ended Joel Crawford did not remain long in South Carolina.

There was an abundance of fertile lands in Georgia to be granted to active settlers, or to be purchased at a trifling cost. The population of the State then consisted of only 19,000 whites and 16,000 negroes. The settled portion of the State was a narrow strip extending along the west side of the Savannah River and along the Atlantic coast to near the Florida line. Thousands from Virginia and the Carolinas moved into this fertile region of cheap lands, so that in five years' time the population had doubled, and by the census of 1790 there were found to be 82,000 inhabitants.

Joel Crawford realized the advantages of this promising section, and early in 1783, with his canvas top wagons, a few slaves, and whatever other property remained to him from the ravages of war, took up his travel from his home in Edgefield District, to which place he had returned from Chester District, and sought a new settlement on Kiokee Creek, near where the village of Appling, Ga., now stands. There were excellent reasons why this locality was selected by him for a home; a few Virginians were already there, and among them several of his relatives. * The country was healthful and the lands productive. This section was then embraced within Richmond County, but was cut off in 1790 to form Columbia County.

The only church at that period in the whole of Richmond County was Kiokee † Baptist church, formed by Rev. Daniel Marshall in 1772, and formally chartered by the Legislature of Georgia in 1789 as the "Anabaptist Church on the Kiokee." It is the oldest Baptist church in the State. This pioneer preacher had migrated to Georgia from Connecticut in 1770, and on account of his learning and fervent devotion to the work of the ministry became greatly beloved by his followers. His influence for good in the Kiokee settlement was paramount. He never fled the State during the war as others of the clergy did, but remained the pastor of this church continuously up to the time of his death in 1784. When he first

*Gilmer's Georgians.

†Mercer's History of the Georgia Baptist Association.

came to Georgia he was arrested for preaching in the Parish of St. Paul. This was done in the presence of his congregation, on a beautiful Sunday morning. He was about to be carried to jail by the constable when his brethren gave security for his appearance on the following Monday at court in Augusta. He stood his trial, and although he acknowledged that he was guilty of the charge of preaching and being a dissenter from the Church of England, he was discharged with the order of the magistrate to preach no more in Georgia. He answered modestly but firmly in the language of the Apostle: "We ought to obey God rather than man." * The Crawfords lived very near this church, and were constant attendants, and contributors to it. On account of the danger of Indians the Legislature had promulgated a law making any man found at church without his musket and 30 rounds of ammunition in the pew beside him, subject to a fine of ten shillings. This act was passed in 1770, and was observed until after the Revolution.

St. Paul's Episcopal church at Augusta, which had been supported by the Government ever since 1758, was destroyed during the war, and not rebuilt until several years after. The grand jury presentments of Richmond County in 1782 state as a grievance the want of a house of worship in Augusta.

In 1784 the Legislature fixed the county seat of Richmond County "At the place where the road crosses the little Kiokee creek leading to the meeting house." This is the spot where the town of Appling now stands.

The people of Georgia were poor after an eight years' war. The State had overpaid her quota of money to continue the struggle. Continental currency was almost worthless, and even as late as 1785, after the success of the colonies had been established the state auditor was required to receive all Georgia paper bills emitted since the commencement of the late war at the enormously depreciated rate of one thousand for one. † This startling depreciation exhibits most forcibly the poverty of the young State, and the hardships of her condition. The low estimate of war currency gave rise to the common expression: "Not worth a continental." Yet there were other patent influences, which in spite of a depleted treasury, tended to the material development of the State.

If there was any one thing, however, that caused the great

*Sherwood's Gazetteer, page 244.

†Watkin's Digest, page 314.

influx of so many excellent immigrants of the best quality to Georgia, that swelled her population and wealth at such an increasing, unprecedented rate immediately after the Revolution, that one thing should be ascribed to the praiseworthy efforts of the State to advance the cause of education within her borders. Th's new State was formed with the experience of all the world before it, and this subject of neglected educational facilities under the old colonial system, was uppermost; resolves were made that under the benign smiles of Providence which had blessed their independence, religion and learning should be fostered. It was done, and unrivaled population, wealth and intelligence was the result, and with these unrivaled comfort and happiness.

A few months after the Declaration of Independence the First Constitution of Georgia was adopted. The 54th section of this Constitution declared: "Schools shall be erected in each County; and supported at the general expense of the State." Many other wholesome provisions were made in pursuance thereof to encourage education. Donations were made separately to the cities of Augusta, Savannah, Waynesboro, Louisville, Sunbury, Ebenezer, Washington and others to maintain academies. On July 31st, 1783, the Legislature appropriated one thousand acres of land to each County for the support of free schools. On Feb. 25th, 1784, the following act was passed: "Whereas, the encouragement of religion and learning is an object of great importance to any community, and most tends to the prosperity, happiness and advantages of the same. Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the County Surveyor immediately after the passage of this act shall proceed to lay out in each County twenty thousand acres of land of the first quality in separate tracts of five thousand acres each for the endowment of a college, or seminary of learning, and which said lands shall be vested in and granted in turn to his honor the Governor for the time being, and John Houston, James Habersham, William Few, Joseph Clay, Abraham Baldwin, William Houston and Nathan Brownson, esquires, and their successors in office who are hereby nominated and appointed trustees of the said college, or seminary of learning, and empowered to do all such things as to them shall appear requisite to forward the establishment and progress of same." The charter of the University of Georgia was granted in 1785. The remarkable preamble to this chartering act contains this forceful sentence: "This country in the times of our common danger and distress

found such security in the principles and abilities which wise regulations had before established in the minds of our countrymen that our present happiness, joined to pleasing prospects, should conspire to make us feel ourselves under the strongest obligations to form the youth, the rising hope of our land, to render the like glorious and essential services to our country."

Georgia was the first State to establish a university. It was thirty years later before the University of Virginia was organized.

The amount given by private benefactors to the promotion of education in this State has been very great, and a number of schools before and since the Revolution were supported by private munificence alone. The early history of the State shows that cities, towns and districts all contributed liberally to the cause. In this manner that foundation was laid that produced so many great men thereafter, and advanced the moral and material development of the State to that extent which won for it the well earned name of the Empire State of the South.

After their arrival in Georgia, the Crawfords were not unmindful of the cherished idea of educating their children. A school near by was patronized by them. There was a longing, however, in the hearts of the parents to give to their precious son better advantages than could be then obtained in Georgia. Notwithstanding his limited means Joel Crawford was ready to make the greatest sacrifice to this end, for he realized what was plainly obvious to others, that William was deeply imbued with a love of learning remarkable for a lad of eleven years. The proud father desired that his son should be educated in the country from whence his ancestors had sprung. He loved Scotland and her institutions and traditions. The University of Edinburgh, in his opinion, offered the greatest facilities. Thither would he have his son attend. There was a wealthy Scotch merchant in Augusta who was ready to advance money to good customers on ample security. This merchant made trips to Scotland to buy goods, and spent a great portion of his time in the mother country. Such a trade was made and terms for his tuition agreed upon, and at last the fond parents' hearts were to be gladdened. To Scotland then the lad was to be taken for a thorough education. The joy of receiving these advantages, commingled with the sorrows of parting with loved ones for so many years, were all experienced by William. He never forgot these tenderest emotions, and so long as he lived spoke of them with becoming sentiment.

Here was the event which seemed destined to change the whole current of his life. However, just before the appointed time for his departure the Scotch merchant, in a violent fit of mental derangement, attempted to cut his own throat. Joel Crawford was forced to abandon this plan, as it would be unsafe to entrust him with funds and the superintendence of his son's education.

Back then to the old field school. Five years more of assiduous application and the boy was well versed in all the English branches taught therein. This youth now of sixteen summers was tall, dignified, but not graceful, muscular and well proportioned; his head and face were striking and impressed the beholder at once with the belief that he must possess more than ordinary powers of intellect. His complexion was fair and ruddy, his features strong and regular, his manner frank and unconventional and his speech blunt and to the point. He was cordial to his friends, and when he smiled an engaging benignity overspread his whole countenance. No wonder then, at this tender age, he was deemed capable of taking charge of this old field school as teacher, his father being unable to bear the expense of continuing his education in the County academy at Augusta. It was the best thing that the boy could undertake to carry out his purpose of obtaining a liberal education, which purpose he never for a moment lost sight of. Teaching would impress what he had learned, and by it he could earn the money to accomplish his cherished purpose. His work in the school room was successful; but the greatest sorrow he had ever yet felt was now to befall him.

Before the year 1788 had passed his doting father died, leaving William the principal support of the family. The disease which took off his father and swept with such violence throughout the country at this time was smallpox. Their valuable servants also fell under its attack, and the bereaved family were reduced to very narrow circumstances. Every dollar of the boy teacher's earnings was sorely needed now to aid his mother in supporting a large and almost helpless family.

During the next three or four years Crawford was teaching school and assisting on the farm. These were trying times with him, and it seemed that after all, his desire to obtain a classical education was about to be repressed by chill penury. It has been often asserted that any ambitious youth in America can work his way to an education if he

but have a deep set purpose. It seems that Crawford's life would disprove this proposition; he arrived at the age of twenty-two with all his hopes unrealized. He was not one to shirk any task nor to be overcome by obstacles. An ordinary mind, under these depressing circumstances, would have yielded to the current of affairs, but his was not of ordinary mould. Viewing him at this critical period one would scarcely conceive that he was destined to act such an important part in the drama of his country's history.

Let us cast a glance at a few of the distinguished men with whom and against whom he afterwards acted.

John Quincy Adams was now twenty-seven years of age, and had been most carefully educated at Harvard, and later in the colleges of Europe, having received every advantage that wealth, splendor and powerful friends could bestow. He was appointed in 1794 Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Hague. Andrew Jackson was holding the very lucrative office of District Attorney at Nashville, Tenn., and at this time had laid the foundation for the large estate which was soon to be his. At the age of twenty-seven he had achieved great popularity in his district as a politician, and was noted for his personal prowess, as evinced by his full hundred hand to hand encounters, duels, and fistcuffs in most of which, but not always, he was victorious. Henry Clay was an impecunious orphan seventeen years of age, and employed in the Clerk's office of the High Court of Chancery at Richmond, Va. Van Buren and Webster were school boys of twelve at their father's homes in New York and Massachusetts, respectively. George Michael Troup was fourteen years of age and attending a boarding school taught by the celebrated Dr. Peter Wilson at Flatbush, New York, where so many wealthy Southerners' sons were educated. * John Clark was engaged in a chimerical scheme under his father, General Elijah Clark, to set up an independent State in Western Georgia, inhabited only by the Indians. † Josiah Tatnall and James Jackson were Senators from Georgia. George Matthews was Governor, and Thomas P. Carnes was in Congress from Georgia. Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina was also in Congress; Berrien was a thirteen-year-old college boy at Princeton, where two years later he was graduated. Of John C. Calhoun, who remained throughout his whole life Crawford's most powerful antagonist and with whom he grappled on many a clear cut field in bitterest political strife, we shall get a glimpse in our next chapter.

*Harden's Life of Troup, page 9.

†Chappell's Miscellanies of Georgia, page 37.

CHAPTER IV.

CARMEL AND RICHMOND ACADEMIES.

In the Spring of 1794 there came to Columbia County a new dominating personality, the famous teacher Dr. Moses Waddell. He came as a missionary, for he was a devout Presbyterian minister. He had been educated at Hampden-Sydney College, where he was prepared to teach and preach. Governor Gilmer, who was one of his pupils, says of him: "He was for a long time the most useful and successful teacher in the Southern country. He devoted his whole life to his calling, and was a most admirable example of the superiority of strong sense of duty and untiring industry in the employments of life, over genius and accomplishments." * Waddell possessed those sterling qualities of heart and soul which peculiarly fitted him for leadership and privations of a pioneer life. He was the son of the blind preacher of Virginia so graphically described by William Wirt in his *British Spy* as making the impassioned utterance: "Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ died like a God."

Carmel Academy, two and a half miles distant from the present site of Appling, was organized under his direction. Who can calculate the great use to mankind that can flow from the efforts of a consecrated teacher? This great educator was destined to become famous as the instructor of the leading statesmen of the South. Carmel Academy contained pupils who, in after years, adorned the national councils and filled the country with their fame. Dr. Waddell's wife was the daughter of Patrick Calhoun, and the sister of Hon. John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina.

The younger Calhoun soon after came as a pupil to this school. He was thirteen years of age, and possessed even then the active energy, determination, ardency of feeling, impulsive enthusiasm and quickness of apprehension which characterized him throughout life. Besides Calhoun and William H. Crawford there was Thomas W. Cobb, another bright, spirited youth, who in after years, as congressman and United States senator, reflected honor on his state by his unswerving devotion to every duty to which he was called.

The devout musleman, when he turns his face towards Mecca as the true source of all light, is not moved with more fervor than was Crawford to this great opportunity which he had so long craved. He soon obtained the confidence and

*Gilmer's Georgians.

favor of Dr. Waddell, and a lasting friendship grew up between preceptor and pupil. Crawford remained in the Academy two years, studying the usual Latin and Greek authors, philosophy and French. The last year he was promoted to the position of usher, receiving as his compensation one-third of the tuition money. His quick apprehension and retentive memory enabled him to master the Latin and Greek languages in the shortest possible time, and to comprehend and enjoy with peculiar zest the beauties of the classics. He was fond of Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Thucydides and Homer. He frequently attended examinations of academies and colleges to renew his touch with the grand old Masters. * There was nothing, however, of display or vanity in his make up; his learning was without pedantry. He not only loved books himself, but knew how to impress their utility attractions on others. In that interesting book, "Leisure Labors," by J. B. Cobb, there is presented a striking picture of the lumbering, honest student.

"It was determined by himself and some of the elder school boys to enliven the annual public examinations by representing a play. They selected Addison's Cato; and in forming the cast of characters, that of the Roman Senator was, of course, assigned to the usher. Crawford was a man of extraordinary height and large limbs, and was always ungraceful and awkward, besides being constitutionally unfitted, in every way, to act any character but his own. He, however, cheerfully consented to play Cato. It was a matter of great sport, even during rehearsal, as his young companions beheld the huge, unsightly usher, with giant strides and stentorian voice, go through with the representation of the stern, precise old Roman. But on the night of the grand exhibition an accident, eminently characteristic of the counterfeit Cato, occurred, which effectually broke up the denouement of the tragedy. Crawford had conducted the Senate scene with tolerable success, though rather bolsterously for so solemn an occasion, and had even managed to struggle through with the apostrophe to the soul; but when the dying scene behind the curtain came to be acted Cato's groan of agony was bellowed out with such hearty good earnest as totally to scare away the tragic muse, and set promoter, players and audience in a general unrestrained fit of laughter. This was, we believe, the future statesman's first and last theatrical attempt."

*Gillmer's Georgians, page 124.

Upon the death of his wife in April, 1796, Dr. Waddell closed the Academy and did not resume his duties until after his second marriage four years later. Carmel Academy, however obscure, was the nursery of Georgia's most distinguished sons, in politics, literature and religion. It had proved to be an unmixed blessing to the community, and its influence was wide and formative. Dr. Waddell was the librarian of a small circulating library of well selected books, and to this his students resorted, inspired as they were by a master who stimulated the pride and ambition of youth. After the death of his sister and the closing of the school, John C. Calhoun continued to reside with his brother-in-law on the latter's plantation. Dr. Waddell, however, was absent for the greater part of his time engaged in the performance of his clerical duties, and young Calhoun was left to depend upon his own resources for amusement. There was not another white person on the farm, and although there were occasional visits from hospitable neighbors he would no doubt have fallen a victim to listlessness and ennui had it not been for the fact that his active mind found employment in the library, which he kept during Dr. Waddell's absence. His biographer tells us that he read Rollins' *Ancient History*, Robertsons' *Life of Charles V*, a *History of America* and a translation of Voltaire's *Charles XII*. * He was fascinated with the inexhaustible store of knowledge and variety which this French scholar exhibited, and admired the well turned periods and graceful diction of Scotland's great Historian; and with thrilling delight perused the graphic account of the daring exploits of the "Madman of the North." Cook's *Voyages*, Bacon's *Essays* and Locke on the *Understanding*, all received a careful reading by him. Within a few months, however, he was recalled to his home in Abbeville, and not until the expiration of four years, spent in hunting, fishing and some slight attention to the farm, did he resume his studies at Carmel Academy. In June, 1800, being then a vigorous youth of eighteen years, he returned to Georgia, and after two more years under Dr. Waddell entered the Junior Class at Yale College, where, in 1804, he graduated with distinction.

At the closing of Carmel Academy in 1796, Crawford, still anxious to increase his store of useful learning, bent his way to Augusta. This growing city of some three thousand five hundred people was already said to be taking on seductive ways of fashion and worldliness. The obscure usher resolved

*Jenkins' *Life of Calhoun*, page 22.

to fling himself in the way of fortune, and although without means for the attainment of his purpose, yet dared to hope by bravest efforts to win her favor. He was successful. In the double capacity of student and instructor* he remained for two years. In 1798 he was appointed rector, Charles Tait having resigned the position to practice law.

During this year awakening ambition suggested a larger plan of life. He commenced the study of jurisprudence, and at the end of the year he resigned his place in the Academy, and was admitted to the practice of law. "It may be remarked," says Mr. Dudley, "that while he was engaged in his scholastic and professional studies he supported a character for the most exemplary morality and prudence, and was a most indefatigable, close, and laborious student."

Of the students at this school where Crawford studied and taught, there were many who became zealous in their friendship for him. He had a peculiar tact for cementing friendship when once formed.

About this time there entered into his life a new experience—another incentive for endeavor and achievement. Among the pupils at the Academy was Susanna Girardin, daughter of Louis Girardin, a Savannah River valley planter of Huguenot descent, whose father had been a professor in William and Mary College, Virginia. To this bright, blue-eyed, fair-haired Georgia girl the young tutor gave his heart's allegiance. The happiest love stories are told in fewest words, and this may be briefly stated: they loved wisely and well. Poverty and tardy fortune delayed the consummation of plighted troth, but fidelity of purpose won over all obstacles, for Youth and Will are masters.

William H. Crawford pushed on toward the highway of success. His connections with Richmond Academy gave him prestige. His predecessors, Judge Griffin and Charles Tait, were teachers and men of great ability. When, therefore, in 1799 he set up to practice law at Lexington, Ga., he commanded attention, and did not long remain a briefless barrister.

The only two political matters he had up to this time ever attempted to handle were of great importance to the country. There was held in Augusta, Ga., on July 2d, 1798, a convention of young men who sought to take some action against the incursions of France upon our commerce. A committee was appointed, of which Crawford was chairman, to address a communication to the President. This address was written and forwarded to President John Adams, and it

* *at Richmond Academy in Augusta.*
(Adams' 2d Mass. 5th 1798) Hodge's Rev.

attracted a great deal of comment at the time, as embodying a bold aggressive spirit in favor of maintaining our commerce on the high seas. *

The other matter was also one of the deepest gravity that arose from his opposition to a bill that had been introduced into the Georgia Legislature, which bill gave rise to what was afterward known as the "Yazoo Fraud." This fraud was one of the most shameful that ever disgraced any legislative body. The moving spirit was Judge Henry Wilson of Pennsylvania, a most distinguished man. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and at this time was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. Few men had stood higher in the affections of the people, but his thirst for gold made him a greedy land speculator, and he allied himself with Gen. James Gunn, a United States Senator from Georgia, and perpetrated upon the people of this State by open bribery and bullying this monstrous crime. Among those most concerned in the scheme was Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, District Judge of the United States for the District of Georgia, and Matthew McAlester, District Attorney of the United States for Georgia, who were the lobbyists and bribe givers; also William Stith, Judge of the Superior Court of Georgia, who sold his influence for \$13,000 in money and a promise by the incorporators to make him Governor of Georgia. †

The act itself bears the deceptive title: "An act supplementary to an act entitled 'An act for appropriating a part of the unlocated territory of this State for the payment of the late State troops, etc.'" Under this title was passed the law that sold 3,500,000 acres of land extending from the Chattahoochee to the Yazoo River at the ridiculous price of one and one-half cents per acre.

The Legislature was in session at the Capitol in Augusta. Every member was approached and sounded, and when it could be done was bribed. The extent of the corruption and bribery would stagger belief were it not that the records were left to show it. The cunning swindlers used \$25,000 bribe money. The act passed by a small majority, and it was afterwards proven that every one that voted for it except Mr. Robert Watkins owned large shares of the stock of the Yazoo Company that bought this immense tract of land. General

*See appendix from proceedings of this Convention.

†Chappel's Miscellanies of Georgia, page 96.

James Jackson was offered half a million acres of the land for his influence, but indignantly refused. Many weak men were intimidated by threats, and some who could not be intimidated were paid to go home and remain away from the Legislature. It is the strongest case of wholesale corruption of public officials in American history.

Before the act could become a law it needed the Governor's approval. Crawford knew Governor George Matthews as a man of honest intentions, but without sufficient capacity to withstand subtle assaults upon his mind. Although two of the Governor's sons had been made members of the land grabbing company, it was hoped he would refuse to sign the bill. Crawford, young and inexperienced student at the academy as he was, wrote the Governor addressing a petition intended to stiffen up that weak gubernatorial spine and to strengthen his vacillating mind by a warning against a fatal compliance with the wishes of the covetous. * The petition reached him, the Governor wavered, hesitated, doubted, but the clamor of the public men around him, reinforced by scores of others of greatest prominence who were hirelings of the swindlers, was overwhelming. General Wade Hampton and Congressman Robert Goodloe Harper, two distinguished South Carolinians, and who in that day were both recognized at home and abroad as giants of intellect, were actively interested with Yazooists, and pocketed thousands of the money realized from this plunder of the state. † Governor Matthews, by a stroke of his pen, made the bill a law. It was his political death knell. The people never again trusted him, and public opinion drove him out of the state.

James Jackson and the day of wrath was soon to set upon the unhappy swindlers.

Resigning his seat in the United States Senate the brave and fiery Jackson hurried home, and announcing his candidacy for the legislature, declared the infamous act must be repealed by the next General Assembly. The very name Yazooist soon in consequence of his stirring appeals became a synonym of infamy. †† The members who voted for the act were some killed, some hunted like wild beasts, some publicly denounced and whipped, some lynched and others run out of the country. ** Moved by a wave of moral fervor the next Legislature

*Gilmer's Georgia.

†Chappell's Miscellanies of Georgia, 97.

* *American State Paper Public Land, Vol. I, page 148.

††Stevens History of Georgia.

passed the repealing act; it was also provided that the tainted money be returned, the trade declared null and that the Yazoo act and all public records of the same should be publicly burned in the presence of the Governor, so that no trace of it should ever be left to blot the escutcheon of the State. It was necessary to show to the country at large that the state loathed the corruption, loathed the speculators, loathed the evidence of fraud, and would hold her ground.

At high noon on an appointed day the Governor, State officials, and the whole legislative body marched out of the capital and formed a circle around a pile of pitch lightwood that had been placed in the middle of the square in front of the new capital building at Louisville, Ga. With a sun glass Governor Jared Irwin brought fire from heaven to consume the condemned records. *

As the Clerk of the House of Representatives placed the accursed documents in the flames he cried with a loud voice in the presence of the assembled multitude: "God save the State! and preserve her rights!! and may every attempt to injure them perish as these corrupt acts now do!!!" †

CHAPTER V.

A GENTLEMAN OF THE GREEN BAG.

Crawford was just twenty-seven years of age when he commenced to practice law in the thriving County of Oglethorpe. The lands were fertile, and the Broad River settlement soon became famous for its energy, refinement and virtue. The Virginians who composed the first settlers formed a society of the greatest intimacy and cordiality—mutual wants making the surest foundation for the interchange of mutual kindnesses.

These Virginians were a clannish set, and were very unindulgent to the characteristics and customs of the North Carolinians and Europeans who composed another class of population in Georgia. From their inherent differences grew two rival social and political factions. These two factions were about equal in number and influence. The North Carolinians were generally of moderate means, robust and wholesome in body and mind. The Virginians were wealthier, better educated and in a social sense better bred than their neighbors.

*White's Statistics of Georgia, p. 58.

†Stevens' History of Georgia, Vol. II, p. 492.

In this new country the woods abounded in game and the streams afforded abundance of fish. Crops of corn, wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, peas and pumpkins were raised. There never was a more independent, sturdy, self-sustaining, self-respecting people than these early settlers of Oglethorpe County, among whom were Col. Benjamin Tallaferra, Gov. George Matthews, T. M. Gilmer, Frank Meriwether, John Lumpkin, Hugh McGehee, John Thomas, Thomas W. Cobb and Stephen Upson. These gentlemen all have held responsible positions in the service of the State, and reflect the high character of the people of this section. The population and wealth of Oglethorpe County was considerably greater than that of Richmond; and this, together with the fact that the lands were more productive in the former county no doubt furnished the reasons that actuated Crawford in selecting the town of Lexington for his future home. Oglethorpe County was in the Western Judicial Circuit. The name was derived from the fact of its being then the most Westerly of the circuits within the State. Thomas Peter Carnes, the Judge of the circuit, had been a lawyer of distinction in Maryland before he removed to Augusta. His wife was the sister of Hon. William Wirt, the great Virginia orator. *

The lawyers then traveled the circuits either on horseback or in a two wheeled sulky, carrying their papers in a wallet that was generally dyed green, from whence arose the term "Gentlemen of the green bag." They regularly made the circuits, and court week in the different counties brought together the people in large numbers, being regarded as a gala occasion. The judges were supreme in the counties over which they presided. There was no supreme court then to correct their errors; in fact, not even had they adopted any rules of practice. There was no digest of the acts, so a lawyer must hunt through all the statutes that had ever been enacted in order to get the law of his case. There were no precedents nor adjudicated cases by state courts to be relied on as guides, in consequence of which lawyers were uncertain as to the best manner of conducting pleadings. The lawyer who traveled the circuits regularly and noted the unrecorded opinions of the judges on the admission of interrogatories and evidence and as to amendments of pleadings would frequently be able to throw out most important cases without touching their merit. These old lawyers fought under the

* Andrew's Reminiscence of an Old Georgia Lawyer, p. 44.

black flag, neither asking nor giving quarter. A good advocate wielded frequently a too powerful influence in the administration of justice. There were many lawyers in Georgia who seemed to believe that Aaron Burr spoke a truism when he declared: "That is law which is boldly asserted and most plausibly maintained."

The ablest lawyer in all the upper country at this time was a Virginian and a graduate of Princeton University who had received careful training in a law office in Philadelphia. With the advantages of such superior training, Peter Early had opened a law office in Greene County, Ga., and made quite a favorable impression. His excellent voice, his admirable elocution, his dignified, gentle and graceful manner secured to him the esteem and favor of all. He and Crawford became firmly attached to each other; and in 1802, when Mr. Early was elected to Congress, he placed his extensive law practice in Crawford's charge. Succeeding Early, Crawford then began to be regarded as the leader of the bar of the Western Circuit. Whatever cause he espoused absolutely commanded the homage of his soul, and the unreserved approval of his better judgment. His unremitting zeal which shifted his clients' burden to his own broad shoulders, his promptness, courtesy and liberal air, combined with his undisguised frankness and professional sincerity, springing from self-respect alone, secured for him a public and private reputation seldom equaled and never surpassed. "His most prominent virtue was a bold and lofty ingenuousness of mind; in any intercourse whatever with him it was his most striking trait, and yet it was far from being studied. He never engaged by a smooth and flexible manner either in the utterance of his sentiments or the tendency of his address. In the first he was polite and unassuming, though confident and decided; in the latter he was easy without ostentation, and commanding without arrogance." *

Judge Garnett Andrews says of him: "His greatness was manifested not only by his talents, but by his stoicism, and indifference to all ostentation, and a disregard of mere effect. He never did anything with a view as to what might be thought or said of it. He was entirely above all the weakness, vanity, envy and such like contemptible passions except prejudice, which the rest of mankind are more or less heir to. If he made a speech he thought nothing of the man-

*Dudley'. Sketch of Crawford.

ner of delivery; if he wrote, he thought nothing of the style, save to express his ideas clearly. He cared nothing to please if he could convince. So, in society, he cared nothing for conventionalities—not because he felt above or below them, but because he was so concerned about the practical that he cared not to think of such matters; and after I knew him he carried it to such an extent that he seemed to be wanting sometimes in delicacy. I say 'seemed,' for he never designed to hurt the feelings of any one, but taking it for granted that all were as practical as himself, it did not occur to him that the sensibilities of others would suffer by the truth." *

It was the custom at the Court Taverns to give the judge and bar separate tables from the other guests. Many were the jokes of rich sport, anecdotes and humor related on these occasions. Judge Spencer Cone remarked on one occasion: "Instead of separate tables, this is the last generation of lawyers that will be permitted to sit at the first." The first writ of Ne Exeat ever filed in the State was drawn by Crawford. He was fond of telling the humorous circumstances connected with it. The defendant was arrested and carried by Bowling Green in Columbia County after night where there was a "corn shucking." At that place was a man by the name of Martin, who had been arrested a short time before under a "Ca. Sa.," and who, on account of frauds, had great difficulty in getting through the insolvent courts. Martin was very solicitous to know the process under which the sheriff, who had stopped to take a drink, had arrested the prisoner. The name of "Ne Exeat" was too hard for the remembrance of the prisoner. All he could say was that "It was some d—d outlandish name—he could not recollect it." Martin asked him if it was not a "Ka shaw."

"No," said the prisoner, "It is a heap worse thing than a 'Kashaw.'"

"Well, then," advised Martin, "You had better give up, for it turned me down, and I am as law proof as anyone. I would not risk anything worse than a 'Ka shaw.'"

As characteristic of those times Judge Andrews, in his interesting Reminiscences, relates another anecdote Crawford used to tell. On the trial of a Tory in Columbia County soon after the Revolutionary War the Tory was arguing in his defense the uselessness and wantonness of sacrificing more lives for treason, now that the contest was over. The Whigs replied that during the war there had been so much blood

*Andrew's Reminiscences, p. 58.

split by the Tories they must have some more in return, to which the Tory naively replied: "If blood is all you want why not kill a nigger?"

Crawford's social intercourse with the members of the bar whom he considered worthy of his respect was unrestrained, and the hearty roars of laughter that succeeded his store of well-told anecdotes was always an effectual antidote for dullness. He seemed to be able to bring out the best in all his fellows, and by a sympathetic unison with them generally proved a most interesting and agreeable companion. His speeches before the juries were pungent, witty and noted for their clearness and potentiality. He seemed to grasp intuitively and most forcibly the strong points in his own case, and mercilessly laid bare the weak points of his adversary's contention. He rarely ever spoke over thirty minutes. He once told a friend that in his whole career he never lost a case which he had brought himself, or when he could secure the concluding argument. * His practice grew to such proportions and he was so successful in procuring verdicts that General Clark, his bitterest enemy, in a fierce partisan traduction of Crawford's character, admits his unparalleled record of legal triumph. †

The entire absence of a compilation of the statutes of Georgia for the first sixty-seven years of her existence is remarkable. An ordinance was passed in 1786 "To appoint some person therein named to digest and arrange all the laws of this state passed before and since the Revolution;" but nothing was ever accomplished under its provisions. Robert Watkins, a prominent Georgian, ** and his brother George, upon the credit of their own fortunes and hazarding its success upon their individual reputations, undertook to do this work. The result of their labors was "Watkins' Digest of Georgia Laws," published in 1800. The preface states that they found "Many laws have never been published, some are entirely lost or destroyed, others are in a tattered and mutilated condition and the mass of which this collection is made has hitherto been as much out of the reach of the public use as the laws of Caligula."

When the Digest was in press the Assembly of 1799, from a conviction that it was a work of great merit and utility, appropriated \$1,500 for its furtherance. But because

*Andrew's Reminiscences p. 80.

†Principles of William H. Crawford, by Clark, p. 24.

**28th Ga. Report 338.

it contained the Yazoo Act Governor Jackson disapproved the appropriation. In vain did Watkins urge that the repealing act was also embraced within the volume. The stern old Governor replied that the rescinding act declared that the Yazoo Act was a usurpation, and had never been law; it therefore needed no repeal and had never been entitled to a place in the Digest. Three bloody duels between the Governor and Robert Watkins was the result of this acrimony. *

These old-fashioned duels so common in the early days of our State's history were dignified, courteous, and punctilious affairs.

In the last of the three fought by them Jackson and Watkins conversed with great elegance and entire politeness on different matters while the seconds were arranging the terms of the combat that within the next minute was expected to put an end to at least one of them. The seconds agreed quickly on the rules:

"You are to stand at a distance of ten paces; you are to fire at the word 'Make ready—fire!' A snap or a flash to be counted as a shot, etc., etc."

At the first fire both pistols went off in the ground; the second was a blank. At the third the proud form of the Governor was seen to fall, shot *secundem artem* in the right hip. He was lifted up, and as he could still manage to stand alone, he insisted on another fire, but the surgeon urged an examination, and reported that the bullet might have entered the cavity, and hostilities ceased. Mr. Watkins, with great civility, helped to bear the wounded man from the field, and as he was borne away, with some show of affability, remarked: "Damn it, Watkins, I thought I could give you another shot." †

The Watkins brothers secured a small appropriation, but their book was never authorized. In 1800 the Legislature passed a resolution that "The appropriation of \$2,000 in favor of Robert and George Watkins was solely intended as an advance to carry on a work which they represented to be a collection of laws now of force in Georgia, and by no means, nor in any shape contemplated to establish the same as a digest or constitutional arrangement of said laws, or to give any legislative sanction to the same as a code to be received in the courts of law and equity, reserving the revision expulsion, or the sanctioning of the same or any laws thereof to future sessions of Legislature."

*Charlton Life of Jackson, p. 161.

†Dutcher's History of Augusta, p. 227.

In December, 1799, an act was passed providing that the Secretary of State, Captain Horatio Marbury, with two commissioners, shall be appointed by the Legislature for the purpose of digesting laws of the State in one volume, same to be approved by the Governor. Not until 1800 were the two commissioners elected by the Legislature. They were George Watkins and William H. Crawford. Two thousand dollars was appropriated in December, 1800, to the work, and it was provided that the commissioners must take an oath before entering on their work that they would in no wise insert in said digest a certain usurped act entitled "An Act for the appropriating a part of the unlocated territory for the payment of the State troops." * The three commissioners all took the oath prescribed, but George Watkins, either offended at the implied criticism of his own work or on account of the hostility to Governor Jackson, refused to act farther, and the work was well executed by Marbury & Crawford without him. † The following is the earliest of Crawford's letters that we have been able to find:

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD TO GOV. JAMES JACKSON.

Louisville, 10th. January, 1801.

Sir: Indispensable business commands my attention at the Superior Courts of Greene and Oglethorpe. I therefore must, for the space of two weeks, relinquish the prosecution of the work in which I am engaged. Capt. Marbury will lay before your Excellency, on your arrival at this place, that part of the digest which is partially completed. The arrangement we have adopted is an alphabetical one. Considerable difficulty occurred in this plan, arising from the heterogeneous matter contained in the same law. We have been inclined to contract the number of heads and to simplify the work as much as is consistent with perspicuity. Under the word "County" we have determined to comprise all laws respecting the division of County and County regulations, so far as related to court houses and gaols, etc.

Under the word "Corporation" are arranged all laws for incorporating towns, cities or societies. We lay the work in its present state of progression before your Excellency, and confidently hope you will give us your opinion upon any part of the work submitted to your perusal, which will admit of improvement or alteration. No doubt but that the partial

* Marbury & Crawford's Digest p. 190.

† Gov. Jackson's Message to the Legislature, 1801.

arrangement which has taken place is in many instances injudicious, and there is no person upon whose judgment we can so safely rely as that of your Excellency's. We have been unable to employ any clerks, but I intend upon my return to bring one or two with me, and Captain Marbury expects one every day. Should Mr. Watkins stand aloof we shall be able to complete the work in time without him, but I am afraid we shall not be able to transcribe all the laws now in force before the fourth day of March. Accept, sir, my best wishes for your safe return to this place. I am your Excellency's very humble servant,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

To Gov. James Jackson.

In December, 1801, the Legislature appropriated \$5,000 for printing 2,000 copies of Marbury & Crawford's Digest—the State to sell one thousand copies of them and pay the proceeds into the treasury. The book was well received by the legal profession everywhere, and reflected credit upon the painstaking, care and discriminating judgment of the compilers.

Governor Jackson, in a confidential letter to his friend, John Milledge, on Sept. 1, 1801, writes: "I have mentioned the name of William H. Crawford, Barnett's nephew, as a candidate for the circuit judgeship. I have not interfered with Mr. W——n, but Mr. Barnett and the whole back country are wroth, having learned he has been recommended—Crawford will satisfy them all—Early and a few Yazoo lawyers excepted—and we want to take some of these friendly young men by the hand." *

Although Governor Jackson regarded Nathaniel Barnett as influential and a power to be reckoned with, the reader will perhaps be amused to note the very frank and facetious sketch of him given by Governor Gilmer:

"Nat. Barnett must have been of English descent, being brave, obstinate and perverse, without the calculating temper of the Scotch, or wit of the Irish. He was a native of Amherst County, Virginia. He married Miss Susanna Crawford, a neighbor's daughter, and aunt of William H. Crawford. The match was very suitable in many respects. Both were perfectly content with their clothes if they covered their nakedness, and their house, if it sheltered them from the weather. Fancy was not a quality of their natures, and mental taste

*Charlton's Life of Jackson, p. 184.

not known to them at all. And yet they were not altogether alike. Nat. was active and supple of body, and not very strong of understanding; his wife was firm and sensible. Nat. accompanied his relatives, the Crawfords, in their removal from Amherst County, Virginia, to Columbia County, Georgia, about the beginning of the Revolutionary war. The British troops, and their friends, the Tories, drove by their murderous warfare most of the Whigs from upper Georgia. Nat., his two sons, William and Joel, and two of the young Crawfords, their kinsmen, determined to remain and war to the knife with them. Nat. was made prisoner, and confined in Augusta jail. When the Whigs, under Clark, attacked Augusta and drove out the Tories Nat. was liberated. Having been whilst confined in constant expectation of being put to death, when he felt himself free he leaped into the air, struck his feet three times together, threw his woolhat aloft, and cried out at the top of his voice: 'Liberty forever! liberty forever! liberty forever!' etc.

When the British overran Georgia William and Joel Barnett, and the two Crawfords, to avoid being burnt in the houses of their fathers, or captured and hanged, took possession of a thicket of cedars, which grew near the center of a great extent of otherwise bare rocks, some miles above Augusta. From this place they could see the approach of the enemies, prepare for flight or fight, and choose the most favorable times for breaking up lodgments of the Tories.*

Joel Barnett was the husband of Ann, Crawford's eldest sister. He frequently represented Oglethorpe County in the Legislature, and finally moved to Mississippi and acquired great wealth. †

William Barnett possessed a kind disposition, a close observation and a clear perception. He was a member of the Legislature for many years, and for several years president of the Senate. He was also one of the delegates from Elbert County to the Constitutional Convention of 1798. In 1812 he ran for Congress against the talented John Forsyth, and was successful. His home on the Elbert side of Broad River was always an open house to his many friends, and to use the common phrase of the times, "The latch string always hung outside."

While compiling the laws of Georgia Crawford, growing weary searching the musty archives of the Capitol at Louis-

*Gilmer's Georgians, p. 130.

†Gilmer's Georgians, p. 133.

ville for manuscript and long forgotten statutes, would seek this cousin's home for recreation. Under this hospitable roof he did much of the transcribing, arranging and indexing of his work. "His plain dress, frank manner and decided straightforward way of speaking and acting rendered him very acceptable to all the Broad River people." *

Here he formed a friendship with the Gilmers, who greatly admired and trusted him. From this time forth Crawford's advancement was surprisingly rapid. He was a profound, practical and successful lawyer; and by no means disinclined to take a hand in matters political. His thorough preparation, his extensive reading and the severe mental discipline which he had undergone were not without early and abundant fruits.

The ancient rubrics and antiquated forms of English law had not yet passed away. There was still Imprisonment for Debt, Branding, Pillory, Stocks and Benefit of Clergy. For forty years after the Revolution these were enforced by our ancestors in Georgia with all their pristine grotesqueness and harshness just as they had been received from the mother country by the colony in its first formation, and were not repealed until the adoption of the new criminal code of 1816. † The crime of horse stealing was punished with four hours sitting in the pillory and three good whippings of thirty-nine lashes each and branded on the shoulder with the letter "R;" and if convicted the second time the culprit was punished for a felony without Benefit of Clergy. **

Stale law arguments, routine of law practice, cramped jury boxes, harsh regularity of office business, abundant though it was, did not satisfy the longings of an ambition like Crawford's. Intellectual energies like his prefer the arena of political excitement in the race for the goal of larger honors. We are not surprised, therefore, to see him triumphantly elected to the Legislature of Georgia in the Fall of 1803. Here a new field opened up to the grasping intellect of the young Legislator. New scenes, larger ideas, greater struggles present themselves as he plunged into the seething cauldron of the politics of those times. In the vortex of political life we lose sight of him as a lawyer for many long years—ah, what years they were to him, and to his people; what triumphs, what disquietudes, what trials and afflictions, what exquisite joys, what heart burning sorrows!

*Gilmer's Georgians, page 122.

†Lamar's Digest of Ga. Laws, 611.

**Colonial Acts 814, see also J. B. Lamar's Address in Rep. Ga. Bar Assn, 1898.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CODE DUELLO.

In the early history of the State of Georgia the crime of dueling was prevalent among the better class of her citizens; perhaps more so than in any other State. The fatal practice became general when the virtuous and best citizens—Governors, Congressmen and Legislators—on the most trivial excuse and slightest provocation were shedding each other's blood. The horror of shedding human blood was not regarded.

The force of example of the first patriots had its enduring effect. General James Jackson, intolerant of all opposition, was ever ready to support his word with his arms. He killed Lieutenant Governor Wells in 1780. In one of his papers Jackson states that the affair was caused by "The overbearing disposition of the Lieutenant Governor." They went upon the field without seconds, and fought at the desperate distance of a few feet. Jackson himself was dangerously wounded in both knees. *

Gov. Button Gwinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, another staunch friend of liberty, fought a duel near Savannah on May 27, 1777, at a distance of twelve paces. McIntosh was wounded, and Gwinnett was killed at a time when the State had most pressing need of his service.

Judge Benjamin Talliaferro, who served the State of Georgia so faithfully as Congressman, was the first judge of the Western Circuit, but his commission did not prevent him in 1796 from meeting Colonel Willis when challenged, and that Yazooist received the Judge's bullet in his right breast so near his vitals that he declined a second shot. The weapons used were the horseman's pistols, which Talliaferro had worn when he belonged to Lee's Legion. †

To give only a brief account of all the famous duels fought in Georgia during the first quarter-century of its statehood would make a volume larger than the one now before the reader.

Federalists and Republicans were bitterest foes; and although in the general election of 1796 the Republicans triumphed, yet Federalism was not dead, for as late as 1810 it was strong enough to force Josiah Meigs, President of the

*Charlton's *Life of Jackson*, page 18.

†Gilmer's *Georgian's*, p. 160.

University of Georgia, to resign his position because of his Jeffersonianism.*

Indian warfare, which was almost continual, kept alive the warlike spirit which the partisanship of the Revolution had engendered; and personal courage was esteemed above all other virtues by these sturdy pioneers. A coward was contemptible, and no man could remain long in the public eye without distinguishing himself for bravery. Duelling was looked upon by society as the honorable way of settling differences between gentlemen. True the common law declared that homicide in a duel was murder, yet Georgia was "too high toned" to enforce this law, which had in practice become obsolete. The trials in the courts of all the southern states turned entirely on the fairness with which the duel was conducted; and if fair, a verdict of acquittal was invariably rendered.

Gov. J. Lyde Wilson of South Carolina has since published a "Code Duello or Rules for Government of Principals and Seconds in Affairs of Honor," which are considered the standard in matters of this kind. The barbarous custom of duelling has ever had the effect of weakening the authority of all law by accustoming men to condemn their sanctions. This tyrant custom frequently imposed the obligation to call to the field of blood a companion or friend who may have given offense of a trivial nature which a generous mind should have willingly condoned. Yet it never settled any point and the innocent and the aggrieved were as likely to be the victim as the guilty offender. The participants frequently abhorred the practice as did Alexander Hamilton, yet for fear of their reputations yielded to the imperious custom.

That one of Crawford's firm, impetuous and unyielding disposition should therefore be engaged in an affair of this kind so common in his day is not to be wondered at. His rapid strides to political preferment were not free from embarrassments and difficulties. That he was imbued in the beginning of his career with these prevalent ideas as inculcated by the code of honor is apparent from the several affairs in which he was engaged. It is believed, however, that he ever afterwards looked upon his youthful espousal of this false philosophy with deep and poignant regret. †

The solicitor general of the circuit in which Oglethorpe county was placed was Peter Lawrence Van Allen of Elbert

*W. H. Meigs *Life of Josiah Meigs* p. 92.

†Dudley's Sketch of W. H. Crawford.

county. He was allied with the Clarks in politics, and they were the undisputed leaders of public opinion in all the "up country." Crawford, by his great abilities, rapid strides and remarkable frankness, was rapidly winning over the people to his way of thinking. There were at this time numerous companies of speculators in public lands, in some of which John Clark and Van Allen were interested; and as cessions were made by continually pushing the Indians further west, the speculators devised schemes to secure this rich land under forms of law without appreciable cost. Crawford was approached by them with a proposal to secure his services in these land suits. His reply was an indignant refusal; and his denunciation of their scheme brought upon him the united opposition of this clique. "Finding his talents and integrity very much in the way of their success a conspiracy was entered into to kill or drive him away. Van Allen, an impudent fellow from New York, was chosen to play the bully." *

They resolved if possible to force Crawford into a duel. This seemed the most expeditious way to rid themselves of him and secure the success of their scheme. Never was a plot more ingeniously planned and boldly attempted. Crawford must either fight or be driven from the country. The great faculty of organizing men in support of his views which he was beginning to exhibit was a matter altogether displeasing to the old dispensers of public patronage. If this erstwhile country usher of Waddell's Academy, and new aspirant for public honors was challenged to the field of blood it seemed almost certain that he would refuse, for he, unlike most men of his day, was unskilled in arms. It might reasonably be supposed that according to the temper of those times a refusal by a young man without family ties to accept a meeting on the field of honor no matter how trivial the excuse, would result in his political ruin. A refusal would render him without power to be useful in repelling mischief or achieving good thereafter, as public prejudice was too strongly entrenched to be resisted.

John Clark was a somewhat romantic and chivalric character. When but a boy under the leadership of his illustrious father he had done the service of the best soldiers at the battle of Kettle Creek. He was reared in the camp and on the Indian warpath with but slight school advantages first obtained in Wake county, North Carolina, and later in the common schools of Wilkes county, Georgia, and with no pro-

*Gilmer's Georgians.

fession save that of arms. With his independent, dread-naught, rowdying, generous and magnetic disposition he soon developed into a politician of the extreme Andrew Jackson type. At the battle of Jack's Creek (which took its name from his services), where the frontier Georgians defeated the Creek Indians, he had won great honors. He never knew fear, and from fighting Tories and Indians he had learned to show no quarter. His restlessness and impetuosity were both aggravated by his occasional drinking; and he had a most sensitive, overbearing disposition that made those who differed with him extremely obnoxious in his sight, even though that difference may have arisen in a general and not at all personal way. Private broils were frequent with him and to his liking. He was an astute politician, but in no sense a statesman. Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, his strongest political colleague, declared he supported Clark more from sympathy than appreciation of his ability. *

Governor Gilmer, who knew him thoroughly, thus described him: "The reputation which he acquired by the battles of Kettle Creek and Jack's Creek made him feel that



JOHN CLARK

he was the cock of the walk wherever he stalked, and he was sure to show it if any crowing was done in his presence. Most persons yielded without resistance to what he demanded authoritatively or claimed pertinaciously. Every associate was obliged to be for or against him. He suffered no one of any consequence to occupy middle ground. He had the temper of the clansman. He defended his friends right or wrong, and expected the same fidelity to himself. He patted every young man on the back whom he wished to make his adherent, and

if he showed himself offish he proved himself his enemy. Whatever his hands found to do he did with all his might, and would have been one of the best of men if his evil inclinations had not gotten the better of his good. He and his father took part in the Yazoo sale from some vague notion

*Phillips' Ga. State Rights 97.

that the conquerers were entitled to share among them what had belonged to the conquered." *

As matters drifted along considerable acrimony was felt by Crawford and Solicitor Van Allen. Some have attributed this enmity between these two men as the origin of the Clark and Crawford parties in Georgia. † Certain it was a most potent factor in estranging the friends of both parties.

Van Allen was a Yazooist and Federalist. Crawford was his political antipode. There was in Elberton a certain George Cook who was first a constable, then a collecting agent and finally a lawyer. Judge Tait, who also had his home in Elberton, had at times considerable correspondence on familiar terms with Cook. Tait was moody, and occasionally unbosomed himself to Cook very freely when the blues were on him. The cunning Cook preserved all the notes of his friend, and in the course of time Tait was employed to rule Cook for money collected and not paid over to his client. The latter employed Van Allen, who, with unblushing effrontery, managed in some way to get this private correspondence before the court. Van Allen being quite a wit and satirist made much amusement for the lobby to the mortification of Tait. The exposure of this correspondence of so confidential and delicate a nature provoked the ire of Judge Tait. ** A salty newspaper controversy and then a challenge from Tait to Van Allen was given. ††

Van Allen refused to consider Tait a gentleman, claiming he was deficient in respectability, and declined to accept the challenge. This declination would have offered Crawford a fit opportunity had he been disposed to have challenged Van Allen; but having no disposition of this sort he declined, and for this forbearance was exposed to animadversion. Subsequent to this, and in consequence of Tait having posted Van Allen, this gentleman challenged him by a Mr. Tankerly of Washington, Ga., as his friend. At the moment of its receipt Judge Tait was unable to write an answer; he therefore accepted it verbally, and as soon as his engagements would allow, again with great importunities prevailed on Crawford, who had heretofore shown great reluctance, to bear the written acceptance to Mr. Van Allen through Mr. Tankerly. When Crawford found Tankerly he was met with a declination to act further, and gave his reason that Tait had failed to meet

*Andrew's Reminiscences, page 59.

†Gilmer's Georgians, 201.

**Andrew's Reminiscences, page 61.

††Exposition of Principles of W. H. Crawford by John Clark, page 25.

"To rule" means to "rule" as in "to rule the roost"

Van Allen when called upon. On his way home Crawford stopped at the hotel of Colonel Willis in Washington, Ga., and there Van Allen (who had determined, if possible, to fight Mr. Crawford), went to meet him. As soon, therefore, as Van Allen saw Crawford he grossly insulted and challenged him. As Crawford had originally declined to make Tait's quarrel his own it was supposed that he would expose himself to insult and contempt by refusing the challenge. This he did not do. Satisfied that his antagonist was instigated by political enemies, and that his character or life was sought to be destroyed, impelled by those feelings which few men are able to repress, the challenge was immediately accepted.

It was arranged that Van Allen and Crawford should meet at Fort Charlotte, the famous old duelling ground, twelve miles below Petersburg on the Carolina side. * Crawford's bravery was not without stoicism, for he went to the place of meeting without the slightest preparation. He had borrowed from Mr. Pain a pair of old pistols to be used by him, and these he did not examine until the morning of the meeting, and in trying them they snapped twice. On the first fire neither party was touched. Crawford afterwards stated to Judge Garnett Andrews that he was disconcerted on the first fire by an ugly grimace made by Van Allen, and that on the second fire he drew down his hat brim so that he could not see it. On the second round both combatants again fired, and Van Allen was seen to fall mortally wounded. Crawford was unharmed. He had borne himself so well in this quarrel, in which the public generously acquitted him of all blame, that even his bitterest enemies could find nothing to condemn as unfair, or charge against him as dishonorable. Certain it is that his popularity was not decreased thereby.

John M. Dooly, whose reputation for wit is well known, and whose anecdotes have been often repeated for their sparkling repartee and keen humor, was appointed by Gov. Josiah Tatnall on Sept. 2nd, 1802, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Peter Lawrence Van Allen as solicitor of the Western Circuit. Natural spontaneous humor has ever been indigenous to the soil of Georgia, and Dooly will ever be remembered as the greatest satirist of them all.

The next few years of Crawford's life evinces a series of bitter antagonisms between him and his great political and rancorous personal enemy. In the early summer of 1803 Judge Carnes resigned the judgeship of the Western Circuit and

* *Memoirs R. H. Clark*, p. 219.

John Griffin, Esquire, received the executive appointment to fill the vacancy until the next meeting of the legislature. The candidates before the legislature were Charles Tait and the incumbent John Griffin. Crawford naturally espoused the cause of Tait, and as Judge Griffin and John Clark had married sisters, the daughters of Col. Micajah Williamson, the Clarkites supported the candidacy of Judge Griffin. Clark and Crawford were both members of the legislature. The former had served several times before, and was experienced; the latter was serving his first term. Here then was to be the first great battle between the old soldier politician—the hero of Jack's Creek and the pet of the Georgia soldiers on the one hand—and the ex-school master, lawyer and political neophyte on the other. Tait and Griffin were both originally from Virginia, and both astute lawyers of unblemished character. The issue between the candidates themselves was so minute that it was lost sight of in the battle royal between their partisans. There was no disguising the fact that this was to be a desperate contest of Clark to maintain his prestige and long supremacy in Georgia politics. For several years he had been the dominant figure; but now Crawford, by his magnetic gifts, challenged the attention of the public, and threatened to supplant him in their affections. This was more than the imperious nature of Clark could well endure. Tait, however, was elected and took the oath of office Nov. 19th, 1803. On the evening previous to the election a circumstance occurred that gave rise to a gallish controversy between the leaders of the respective candidates, trivial indeed in its origin, but weighty enough with them at least to invoke the field of blood.

On Nov. 3rd, 1804, the following card by General Clark was published in the Washington Monitor:

"To the Public: The grand juries of the courts of Clark, Green, Hancock, Jackson, Franklin and Lincoln for the Fall term of 1803, having recommended a person to the Legislature for a judicial appointment, William H. Crawford, Esquire, one of the representatives from the county of Oglethorpe, for the purpose, it is presumed, of weakening the force of such recommendations, asserted they had been obtained through my influence, inferring (probably) that they evidenced rather the wishes of an individual than the opinions of the jurors whose signatures they bore. As this assertion was no doubt intended to have, and perhaps did have, an undue influence upon the Legislature's vote, and may have been repeated and obtained credit in instances of which I am not apprised, I consider it an act of justice, not only due myself, but the grand

jurors, to place the real truth before the public in a way not liable to misrepresent an error. I have therefore procured the following certificates, which are published with the evidence of these assertions being made by Mr. Crawford, leaving the community to make their own reflections on the subject, with my barely observing that so far from attempting to influence the grand juries whose names are subjoined, I believe them to be men of too much integrity and independence to be induced by any individual whatsoever to adopt a measure which their own minds did not approve, nor do I imagine a contrary conduct would have been imputed to them, but for the purpose of accomplishing a favorite object:

"LOUISVILLE, Nov. 22nd, 1803.

"Sir: I received your letter of this day by Maj. Walton concerning a conversation which took place between him and myself. I did hear Mr. W. H. Crawford say that you went 'round the circuit, or part of the circuit, with Judge Griffin for the purpose of influencing the grand juries to procure recommendations in favor of the Judge; and that you did effect the recommendations by that means. I am, with esteem your humble servant,

"DAVIS ADAMS."

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Here follows a similar certificate to John Clark from John London, and certificates from grand jurors that they were not influenced by Judge Clark.

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"The foregoing would have been given to the public earlier, but some of the certificates were not received until a short time previous to the election, and I was aware that by giving them publicity at that time Mr. Crawford might endeavor to elude the force of them by saying it was done for electioneering purposes. It may not be improper to observe that I have not yet received a certificate from the grand jury of Hancock, but being convinced that the gentlemen who composed that body can have no hesitation in testifying to the same purport whenever called on, I deem its insertion here not material. If there should be an attempt to justify these assertions as they relate to that county I pledge myself for its production.

"JOHN CLARK."

When we consider the fact that General Clark's letter was not published until very near the end of the unexpired term for which Judge Tait had been elected, and just preceding the next election in which Griffin and Tait were both candidates, and note also the very strained—injured innocence—kind of attitude the General assumed and the further fact that it was treated by him in such a public way by being published in a public journal (a paper at Washington) that it appeared to give grounds for suspicion that this matter was resumed by him at this time to gain some advantage for his

brother-in-law in the pending election rather than as he claimed to vindicate his character. To this letter Crawford seems to have given more importance than the circumstances warranted. Two days later he published the following spirited answer in the Republican Trumpet of Louisville:

W. H. CRAWFORD TO GENERAL CLARK.

By your publication in the Monitor of the 3rd inst. you no doubt had a two-fold object in view. First, the gratification of your spleen and malignity against me; and secondly, the promotion of your brother-in-law to be judge of the Western district. How far you will succeed in effecting these objects the event must determine. Pending the late election of Judge in November last, I said not only to Major Adams and Mr. London, but a number of other gentlemen, that I had no doubt but that the recommendations of the grand juries were obtained through your influence, and assigned as one ground of belief, that you went to or attended every court, where they were obtained, but the county of Franklin, and attended no court where they were not obtained. I did give it as my opinion that those presentments would not produce the effect intended by their procurers, because they evinced anxiety and solicitude for a continuance in office that afforded strong grounds of suspicion that private and interested views operated upon their minds, instead of a desire that justice should be impartially administered. But I believe, that in every conversation upon that subject, it was mentioned as matter of opinion, and the grounds stated upon which that opinion was founded. In a conversation I have this day had with Major Adams, he declared that I did state the reasons which induced me to form that opinion, and that those reasons had very considerable weight with him at that time. But the grand jurors have certified that you never interfered to procure those presentments. Is it possible, sir, malevolence has blinded your understanding? Because they have certified this does it naturally follow that your influence was not exerted in procuring them? Influence is a very indefinite term. I never supposed that you applied personally to many, if any of the juries. You could accomplish your design more certainly through the instrumentality of agents, and run less risk of alarming the feeling of the juries, who no doubt would have rejected with indignation any attempt to influence their deliberation. The grand jurors could, then, safely certify they were not influenced by, nor received a letter from you. I can, however, declare with sincerity that I never said that you had influenced them by writing to them or any other person, nor did I say that Judge Tait, or Judge Griffin, had been my teacher; or that I entertained any doubt how I should vote in that election. In all the points Mr. London either did not understand my expressions or his recollections were incorrect; for I cannot believe he would knowingly misrepresent; and every person will perceive how difficult it is, truly, to represent a conversation of any length, by detailing parts of

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it, which is clearly the case with Mr. London's letter, from his own expressions. I mentioned your riding to the counties, and suppose that Mr. London might have mistaken the word riding for writing. But, sir, at the time you were making the attack upon me you ought to have declared that you never held nor was present at a consultation in which it was determined to procure presentments of that nature, and never advised such a course of procedure. Do this, sir, and I am mistaken, if the public does not readily decide upon the degree of credit that ought to have been given to the declaration. Why, sir, have you chosen this moment for the publication of your certificates? Is it because you thought your charges would not be answered before the election of judge would be over? Or did you think legislative honor would be promoted by it? The facts contained in your publications are not of such a nature as to shake any man's standing in the community, not even aided by your supposed weight of character. I repeat, sir, that I have no doubt, from the facts which have come to my knowledge, that your influence was exerted on that occasion; and there are others who entertain the same opinion. You call on me for proof. I answer the transaction is of such a nature as to exclude all possibility of direct proof, because the only persons who could establish the fact, would by the establishment, testify to their own turpitude. Every person must discover your intention in giving publicity to your statement at this moment, and without pretending to the gift of prescience, it may easily be foreseen that this attempt, like that of the presentments, will injure the cause it was intended to promote. I was hopeful that a transaction that ought to suffuse with a blush, the countenance of every man engaged in it, would for the honor of humanity, have been suffered to slumber in the bosom of oblivion, but as this attack is made partly for the benefit of your brother-in-law, I call on him to say whether he did or not, on Monday night of Lincoln court, in October term, 1803, say that upon looking at the grand jury he believed that a presentment as favorable as any already obtained might be procured; that the foremen was one of Mr.'s men; that Mr. ——— could fix him, and that three other gentlemen then named were friendly to him, and might be brought into the measure? And whether he did not then say since the adjournment of Elbert court he believed that if exertions and proper management had been used a favorable presentation might have been procured which would have been a complete triumph. I shall make no comment upon these facts, but only say that the man who could act in that way might very consistently say that he was not a Federalist, though I can establish the fact from his own confession, by witnesses whose veracity he will not attempt to impeach; and if the gentleman wished me to descend to particular facts and support them by testimony, I shall feel no difficulty in undertaking and accomplishing the task. I further add that at Lincoln court I saw a gentleman of the bar commence as many as two presentments, which were not completed in my presence. Every person who knows the connection which exist between yourself and the late judge,

the exertions you made to procure him the appointment, and the part he acted in the county of Lincoln will not be astonished that I formed that opinion.

Nov. 5th, 1804.

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

JOHN CLARK TO W. H. CRAWFORD.

A solicitude for the good opinion of my fellow-citizens requires an answer to your address to me in the Republican Trumpet of the 7th. inst. In addition to this you have so far outstripped the rules of common decorum and modesty by adding insult to injury, that by letting it pass over in silence would be taken as an acquiescence on my part of my having attempted the gratification of what you are pleased to term "spleen and malignity against you." Be assured, sir, that no attack, as you call it, was or ever will be made by me upon any man who confines himself to the truth. But the man who conceives and propagates matter injurious to my reputation, and to effect his own purposes shall (whenever they come to my knowledge) be exposed to the eye of an impartial public.

In bringing my observations forward in the Monitor at the time I did the reasons were then sufficiently stated; and yet you wish to insinuate that my expectations were that they could not be answered before the appointment of a judge for the Western district would take place. Had this been my view I should not have given them publicity in the Monitor. But, sir, without any further reason, let me tell you that here you propagated your reports, and here they ought to have been detected and refuted. Had you come forward openly and avowedly at the last annual session your conduct would have been less reprehensible; but such seems to have been the nature of your designs, that they required the darkest shades of night to shield you from "The suffusion of a blush," to shield you from the transaction which for the "honor of humanity ought to have slumbered in the bosom of oblivion." Believe me, sir, I little wished for the honor of the present correspondence, but since you have forced me into it I must deal with you in plain and candid language; and if anything should escape me injurious to your nicer feelings you must attribute it alone to your former and present conduct. You say that you observed not only in Major Adams and Captain London, but to a number of other gentlemen that you had no doubt but that the recommendations of the grand juries were obtained through my influence, and assigned as one ground of belief my having attended all the courts but Franklin where recommendations were given. Whilst you were giving such strong proof of my interference would it not have been more candid in you, sir, to have informed Major Adams, Captain London and the other gentlemen that as an executor of my father's estate I had business in most of those courts, which you, sir, must be acquainted with, being counsel on the opposite side? That I left home for Louisville for the purpose of obtaining such copies of record as were requisite to be produced in some of the courts? I came through Hancock with Mrs. Clark who had then a good opportunity of visiting her

relatives there? Had you given all this information your conduct would not have appeared so murderous to private character. You say you believe in every conversation on that subject it was mentioned as matter of opinion; I have searched in vain for this in the letters of Major Adams and Captain London. You, sir, attempting an exculpation, call on me to say when I was making this attack upon you, as you are pleased to term it, that I ought to have declared that I never held, or was present at any consultation in which it was determined to procure presentments of that nature, and never advised that course or procedure; you say do this, and the public will readily decide upon the degree of credit that ought to be given to my declaration. I deny these several charges, and call on you, sir, to prove them. You charge me with an attack at this time, made for the benefit of my brother-in-law. Why, sir, did you attack my reputation at the last annual session? Was it for the benefit of yourself? Was it for the benefit of your friend, Mr. Tait, or for what purpose was it? I am well convinced that it was not for the purpose of prompting the public good; it was for the purpose of placing a friend in public office at the expense of reputation and the manner in which you conducted it precluded as you thought every possibility of being detected. You charge Mr. Griffin with Federalism, no doubt for the purpose of furnishing stronger grounds of electioneering for Mr. Tait. Mr. Griffin is on the ground; let him declare his own sentiments. You did, sir, during the last annual session, and before the election of the judge, say that I was leagued with a gentleman who does not live far distant from hence, to break down that system of government which has been pursued in this state for some years, and to destroy the influence of General Jackson. * Where, sir, can you procure proof of any such league or intention? This I deny and call upon you, sir, and I call upon every person who has ever heard me express a political sentiment, to say without reserve if any of my conversations or transactions in public or private can justify your assertions. General Jackson I have always esteemed as a soldier and a statesman and as a friend to his country. Permit me now, sir, you having set the example by dragging Mr. Griffin into view, to address a few interrogatories to your friend and teacher, Mr. Tait.

How long has it been since you have become this genuine Republican? Did you possess these principles in the years 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799 and 1800, or from whence do you commence their date?

Did you not recollect that until about one of the two latter years, and perhaps after that, you were liberal in your abuse of General Jackson, when in conversation on political subjects, that he was "a damned overbearing foist puppy?" Deny these facts, sir, if consistent with your feelings, as well as the other interrogatories which I feel myself authorized to put.

How long has it been since William Barnett, Esq., in your opinion, if he may judge from your words and letters, was a man in whom no dependence could be placed?

* General James Jackson - Sec. of State.
+ "Foist" here seems to relate to a new word.

That he would promise and then deceive?

How long has it been since you have changed your opinion of a gentleman who was formerly a judge in this state, and now a member of the senate?

Do you not recollect that you said of him, that he was "a damned corrupt, partial rascal," and cited the cases which he had determined in court as the grounds of this opinion?

How long has it been since you were in favor of Mr. Adam's administration, and turned over to the present?

And lastly, do you not recollect with what delight in the year 1796 when a scurrilous song to the tune of high-robbin, was published in the Southern Sentinel in ridicule of General Jackson, calling him "Little Jimmy," you read it with emotions little short of ecstasy? These things are all within the recollection of gentlemen whose standing in life put the possibility of a doubt out of the question. Then, sir, we may presume a change of sentiment took place with you when you conceived the idea of applying for the appointment of judge, in opposition to Colonel Carnes. Then it was that you threw yourself under the wing of Mr. Barnett, changed your politics, to all outward appearance, ceased with your abuse of men whose standing in life was not to be affected by anything which you could say of them.

Having furnished Judge Tait with a retrospect of his past actions, expressions and sentiments, I must, therefore, take my final leave, addressing myself again to you, Mr. Crawford.

From whence arose your extreme anxiety for the appointment of Judge Tait? Is it the benefit that will result generally to the citizens of the Western Circuit? Probably you have not been rightly informed of the sentiments of a number of people in that circuit. Since the appointment of Judge Tait to office your practice, it is said, has increased in an astonishing degree; and what is the cause? It is not thought to be your superior talents or powers of eloquence; but, sir, in many private circles you are hailed as judge of the upper circuit; you are looked upon as having his ear and influence in an unwarranted degree. I trust it is, and will be believed that nothing which can be urged by an individual, even one of Mr. Crawford's "supposed weight of character," can in even the smallest degree, tend to lessen the reputation or fix the shade of odium upon the grand jurors whose names are mentioned in my former publication; although Mr. Crawford still insists that they have been tampered with. In the foregoing I hope and believe that my fellow citizens will find no reason to say that I have said anything which can tend, in the smallest degree, to interrupt the memory of legislature proceedings; and if evil should result remember that you, Mr. Crawford, are the aggressor.

JOHN CLARK.

TO GENERAL JOHN CLARK.

A desire that your motives and conduct may be fairly understood by your fellow citizens is the only inducement with me to pay any further attention to you in a newspaper.

You surely, sir, cannot be serious when you say the attack made in the Monitor was because here I propagated the reports, and here they ought to be detected and refuted. If so why was the attack made at Washington? Whatever I said of you was communicated openly and avowedly, not whispered in a corner, or under cover of the night or a dread of detection; for I ever have been, and am now, ready to declare the same in the face of day and to your face. I trust I shall never impute improper motives to any man whose conduct does not justify such imputation; but, sir, I can assure you, notwithstanding your declarations and denials, my opinion on that subject remains unaltered. Public opinion, as I before observed, will determine on the degree of credit which ought to be given to those declarations and denials, and by that decision I am willing to abide. But to enable the public to decide with accuracy I am authorized to say that a member of the legislature is ready to depose that he has seen two letters which bore your signature, and believes were written by you, to two gentlemen, one of whom was a member of the grand jury of one of the western counties, in which you solicited those gentlemen to exercise their influence to obtain a recommendation in favor of Mr. Griffin. Deny this and the exposure will be made, which will convince your fellow citizens that a sacred regard for the truth has not influenced your declaration. The statements made at the last annual session, and the opinions then given by me, were intended for the promotion of the public good, and not for the purpose of placing a favorite in office, at the expense of you or any other man's reputation. The grounds of my opposition to Mr. Griffin were founded in justice and sound policy; and you, sir, have unwarily admitted a fact, which I did then urge as an objection; and which ought now to exclude that gentleman from that appointment. You say as executor of your father's estate you had business in most of those courts, which I must have known, being counsel on the opposite side. It is true, sir, that in four of the six counties alluded to you have appeared to be interested in suits either as heir or executor; but to one of those counties you did not go. The existence of these important cases, and others which may arise, in which you may be equally, if not more deeply interested, is probably the true grounds for your solicitude for Mr. Griffin's appointment to the important office of judge of the Western District. Your intention in dragging into this newspaper correspondence the names of gentlemen standing high in the confidence of their fellow citizens is too apparent to need detection. In rushing General Jackson into public view you have taken a liberty unauthorized by public opinion, and by your expressions on that subject, have not manifested that reverence for truth, which your great regard for the good opinion of your fellow citizens ought to have inspired. Have you forgotten that in Lexington, in the county of Ogleshorpe, in September, 1802, you spoke highly disrespectful of that honorable gentleman, and others associated with him in effecting the sale of your Western territory? Have you forgotten the abuse lavished by you on that sale? Will your feelings be

gratified by the production of proof to establish these facts? You call upon me to prove a political connection between yourself and the gentleman to whom you allude. In answer to this call I ask whether you did not, in the year 1801 and 1802 vote with that gentleman for your friend, Colonel Carnes in opposition to the late Governor Tatnall, and his immediate successor in office? Did you not know that gentleman's political sentiments and opinions relative to the preceding administration? Did you not also know that the Constitution required the Governor to possess five hundred acres of land and other property to the amount of four thousand dollars over and above what was necessary to discharge his just debts? Answer these questions truly, and the necessity of advancing further proof of your hostility to the leading measures of General Jackson's administration will be superseded. The political opposition, made to the leading measures of the state administration by the gentleman to whom I suppose you allude is well known, if you voted with him upon these questions, and others of importance which might be enumerated, the public will not ask for further evidence. I come now, sir, to the charge, no doubt originally conceived in your own brain, because no man whose mind is not overcharged with malevolence could have conceived even such a suspicion. No man who had not practiced, or intended to practice that kind of corrupt influence could have harbored or uttered such a thought. What kind of connection exists between Judge Tait and myself? Is it aught than that of friendship founded upon a conviction of the rectitude of each other's intentions? You say since Judge Tait's appointment my practice has increased with astonishing degree. I say, sir, this is not true. Since my appearance at the bar my practice has increased from year to year, but the ratio of increase last year was greater than that of the present year.

The insinuation of undue influences with the court is an insidious falsehood, and I appeal to the disinterested members of the bar to say whether I have not had equal if not greater cause to complain of the court than any other gentleman of the profession. No, sir, these sentiments are not entertained, not even whispered in any circles beyond the reach of yours and Mr. Griffin's influence. Within that circle I shall not be surprised at the expression of any opinion or the propagation of any report which may be thought by you will operate injuriously to me. You appear anxious to associate the reputation of the grand jurors with that of your own. This, sir, is an unnatural association, and nothing but a consciousness that you need a prop could induce you to labor so ardently to obtain that support. Your exertions to impress upon the public's mind that you are not the aggressor, and that this is not an attempt to promote the election of your brother-in-law is equally fallacious and unfounded. The first publication was your own. Did you not by that publication court the correspondence which you say you little wished the honor of? If you thought I had injured your reputation why did you not call upon me at the time, when your feelings were alive to the supposed injury? Why did you brood over this murderous

attack upon your reputation, as you term it, for the space of eleven months, during which time you were frequently in my company?

Why did you never mention it to me, and demand an explanation or satisfaction for this supposed injury? Is a newspaper attack the usual way of settling differences, or of obtaining satisfaction? I will admit, sir, that it is your usual way, and make no doubt, that if any observation in this reply should prove injurious to "your nicer feelings" you will again resort to your favorite mode of warfare. To this mode you will be more strongly inclined, because you can again put in a state of requisition the ready pen of the Colonel, * who will rejoice at another opportunity of discharging a small share of that immense debt of gratitude which your political support has laid him under. I now, sir, take my leave of you, and am willing that that public to, which you have appealed for redress of your complaints should determine between us.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

CLARK TO CRAWFORD.

LOUISVILLE, Nov. 19th, 1804.

To William H. Crawford, Esq.:

Once more, in the style of a braggadocio, have you imposed yourself upon the credibility of a deluded public. Although I again deign to notice you in this way, be assured that it is not from a predilection for the mode of difference, a dread of your resentment, nor a desire to please; but a regard for that character which has hitherto remained unspotted and unpolluted. Into what a labyrinth of absurdities and inconsistencies, have your malevolence, spleen and mortification involved you. Could I but for a moment lose sight of the splendor of your villiany you would indeed have every claim to compassion that can arise from infamy and distress. Do you not see in large capital letters that you stand by the assertions of Captain London convicted of lying? Yet we behold you with more than stoic apathy, receive it with meekness and submission.

It seems that your opinion of my interference with the grand juries remain unaltered; although you have differed at different times as to the manner of my interference.

If the evidence that has already been given to the public supported even by your own incautious acknowledgements does not exempt me from the base charge of tampering with their independence I know not what will do it? From you, sir, I never did expect an overt confession of my innocence. The man who is base enough to fix an infamous charge upon another without evidence can never possess either the honesty or magnanimity to retract it. But, sir, you knew that unless you could retire under some deceptions cover, the certificates of the grand jurors must carry an irresistible conviction to the mind of every impartial man, and not only to acquit me

*Crawford always insisted that Gen. Clark employed Col. W. J. Hobby to write these letters. Hobby was brother-in-law of Clark and owner of the *Augusta Chronicle*.

of the foul charge of tampering with them, but at the same time, however, reluctantly compel you to subscribe to your own infamy, you, therefore, wisely retired into that magic circle, your own private opinion. It was from this frail castle (if I may be permitted to use the expression) that you felt yourself authorized to discharge your false and poisonous aspersions, but it is a castle which the honest and virtuous will never seek shelter in. They will at least demand something stronger than mere private opinion, before they attempt to sully that precious boon of man's reputation.

In your last publication, however, you have changed your ground and brought the question to a more probable issue. Here I am happy to meet you. Hitherto I have been compelled to the necessity alone of detecting and exposing the fallacy of your own private opinion, which like "influence" is of so "indefinite a meaning" that, literally, it was contending with shadows. You there say, that a gentleman of the present legislature is ready to depose of his having seen two letters which bore my signature, and which he believes to have been written by me to a grand juror and some other person, soliciting them to exercise their influence in obtaining a recommendation in favor of Judge Griffin. This, sir, is a high and serious charge. The circumstances connected with it, if true, are plain, definite, even legal proof. They require no argument to elucidate, no ingenuity or subterfuge to demonstrate their meaning, not like individual opinion, mutable and evanescent; they are permanent and will ever speak for themselves. Therefore, in the name of justice, in the name of truth, and of that reputation which is dearer to me than life, I call upon you, sir, to produce the deposition alluded to. Tell the public the name of these gentlemen, the counties in which they live, exhibit the originals—my handwriting is well known in Louisville; or some other particularity sufficient to enable them to ascertain either the truth of your charges, or the cruelty of your falsehoods. No longer, assassin like, attack the reputations of men through the false media of conjecture, insinuation and half formed stories. If I am guilty the public ought to know it. It is not myself alone that makes the demand upon you; but that public whose interest you are so solicitous to promote, imperiously call for an investigation of your charges. What, sir, must they think of you if you do not produce this deposition? But more particularly, what can be their reflections should these letters be ultimately established on you and others as an infamous forgery? Yes, sir, I do verily believe that they have originated within the limits of Louisville; have been devised and propagated by you and your minions.

Driven, as you were, to the last extremity of argument, and defeated on every ground you had taken, you beheld scorn, infamy and probable defeat before you. Nothing, therefore, scarcely less than subornation of perjury itself could afford even a temporary support of character thus degraded to the lowest stage of human corruption. You have indeed had ingenuity enough to thrust between yourself and the crime a poor ignorant wretch, who as you found him

with less sense than reputation, you will probably have a "fixed figure" for the hand of scorn to point its slow unmoving finger at. How happened it, sir, that Richmond T. Cosby, the person here alluded to, never apprized you until this late date of his material circumstances? You lodge in the same house, are in the habit of frequent communication, and at the very time when you were in the habits of frequent communication, in which you deny ever having said that I wrote to the grand juries; nay, that you did not suppose that I could ever have had the folly to do so, he was at hand, under your nose, and no doubt ready to serve you. Did you not have reason to believe several months ago that I intended to expose you for the lies propagated at the preceeding Legislature, relative to this subject? Why did you not in the meantime, if your conduct was capable of support, procure a justificatory evidence, or at least some slight excuse for your harsh aspersions? If I am not mistaken these circumstances will be productive of unavoidable inferences, and "these questions will carry their own answers along with them." Thus, sir, have you labored with a zeal deserving of a better cause, and in a manner that would disgrace any cause. Can the reflection that you have succeeded in your object, alone, through the propagation of falsehoods, carry any solid, any cheering sensations to your mind? Does not the idea haunt you in your retired walks, and plant thorns in your pillow at night? If you have not bid adieu to the principles of virtue, honesty, truth and justice, if you are not entirely bereft of the "compunctious visiting of nature," believe me, I little envy you the pleasure arising from your recent success. The reason of my bringing the name of gentlemen into view is well known. It was almost unavoidable out of your manner of reply in that the charge of Federalism was made upon Mr. Griffin, and at the time, his opponent by a consequential inference was held up to the public as a man of political connections, or in other words, as a genuine Republican. It was with the exclusive view of exposing the fallacy of this insinuation that I took the liberty of informing the public that the very men whom your friend now so warmly admires are those whose characters, motives and measures he had vilified, defamed and reprobated. But why, sir, have you so cruelly logged Colonel Carnes into this correspondence? Was even the mention of his name necessarily connected with your reply? If I voted for him in opposition to the late Governor Tatnall it was because there were then strong grounds of belief that the latter gentleman had determined not to accept of the government. Do you not, yourself know, with what reluctance he was forced into this measure, and from that date commenced the train of those afflictions that pressed so heavily upon him? Your insinuations relative to the pecuniary situation of Colonel Carnes are mean, ungentlemanly and ridiculous, and as they certainly were not necessary to your reply, the public can ascribe them to no other motive than the gratification of your "spleen and malignity." "I pity the distress of a good man; his sorrows are sacred with me;" and I know not that we are taught either by our nature or religion to triumph

in the misfortunes of even the lowest of our species. In all your statements, reasonings and opinions, throughout your devious track, your chief aim has been to darken, deceive and misrepresent. At one moment we behold you asserting with positiveness that I had influenced the grand juries by writing to them, detected in this falsehood, Proteus like, you deny the assertion, and say that Captain London must have mistaken the word riding for writing. Too wise to be duped, and too firm to be affected by your whining, Jesuitical reasons, he has justly inflicted a lash upon you, the smart of which you will certainly continue to feel, so long as you are possessed of common sensibility. My opposition to the election of Judge Tait, on the ground of his being under your influence and control, was founded in truth and justice and sound policy. Happy, indeed, would it be for the country, if it had an existence only in my own brain," but it is a belief which pervades every class of society in the Western district, and which more or less is attached to every case determined under his administration, in which you are counsel. On this point, however, I do not wish the public to depend on my individual assertion. The following letters from gentlemen who have been here during the present session, and whose veracity, neither yourself or your friend Judge Tait, dare impeach, are a few of the many that would be willing to testify to the same opinion:

"LOUISVILLE, 14th of Nov., 1804.

"Dear Sir:

"In answer to the question asked me by yourself last evening, I have no hesitation in stating that sundry persons have had conversations with me on the subject of employing Wm. H. Crawford, Esq., as their attorney, and stated as a reason that they supposed and believed that Mr. Crawford had such influence with Judge Tait that they would always employ him in preference to any other attorney, whilst Judge Tait presided. In fact, sir, that opinion seems to be so prevalent in the Western circuit, so far as has come to my knowledge of the sentiments of the people that I did not suppose that it would be doubted, as such talk is frequently the subject of conversation, at least in the county where I reside. The reason, sir, that I have so often heard such conversations is, I presume, on account of my being very frequently mixed amongst company, as is to be expected from the nature of the office I have the honor to fill. I am, dear sir, yours,

"JOHNSON WELLBORN."

"LOUISVILLE, Nov. 15th, 1804.

"General Clark—Sir:

"In answer to your application of this day I can only say that I did employ Mr. Wm. H. Crawford, Esq., in a case, the state against myself, in Wilkes county, for a mayhem alleged to have been committed on Capt. Van Allen, under an impression that he had considerable influence with Judge Tait; the impression was increased on account of several of my friends having advised me to employ Mr. Crawford, and gave it as a reason, that it was thought Mr. Crawford had considerable

control and influence over Judge Tait. In fact, sir, this opinion is very prevalent in the county of Wilkes. I am, sir, your most obedient.

"G. GAINS."

"November 22nd, 1804.

"General Clark—Sir:

"In answer to your note of this morning, I have no hesitation in declaring that I have heard frequently, and believing it is the general opinion, that Mr. Crawford has an undue influence with his honor, Judge Tait, in courts of justice. Your most obedient,

"A. SIMMONS."

"LOUISVILLE, Nov. 25th, 1804.

"Sir: In answer to your inquiry of this morning, I can instance a circumstance which turned up in my presence, in Watkinsville (Clark county), to-wit: As Mr. Wm. H. Crawford was walking by a number of gentlemen it was observed by one of them (who knows Mr. Crawford) that, 'There goes the judge of the Western District.' From this my impression was that the gentleman conceived that Mr. Crawford had an undue influence over Judge Tait, and I believe this is the prevailing opinion in the county I live.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"R. O. D. K. EASLEY.

"General Clark."

"Your insinuations as to the mode of defense pursued by me on the present occasion, are ridiculous from the nature of the charges; none other could have been expected from me. I am not at all surprised, however, at your wish to bury every vestige of this transaction in a duel, if you could divert the public attention from a scrutiny into your conduct, you would doubtless be somewhat less condemned and despised.

I must confess that I had at all times rather expose the villany of a man than hazard my person to the chance of receiving a double injury from him; yet, sir, black as your conduct has been throughout this controversy, I assure you, and perhaps the assurance will be gratifying, that I am not restricted alone to this mode of warfare.

"Louisville, Nov. 26th, 1804."

"JOHN CLARK.

CRAWFORD TO CLARK.

"6th December, 180

"Sir: In your last publication you assure me that ~~you~~ are not restricted to the mode of warfare hitherto pursued. My friend, Colonel Flournoy, is therefore authorized, on my part, to make the necessary arrangements.

"WM. H. CRAWFORD."

"General Clark."

CLARK TO CRAWFORD.

"6th December 1804.

"Sir: Your challenge of this morning, by Colonel Flour-

noy, is received and accepted. My friend, Captain Cobb, will adjust and settle with him the necessary preliminaries.

"JOHN CLARK.

"Wm. H. Crawford, Esq."

Col. Thos. Flournoy and Capt. Howell Cobb, as seconds for the parties, after some correspondence agreed that the duel should be fought near Fort Charlotte at a point one mile below historic old Petersburg on the Carolina side of the Savannah River. This was about eleven miles from where Van Allen had fallen some two years previous. Just at this stage of the proceedings Governor John Milledge was appealed to by several disinterested gentlemen in consequence of which a Court of Honor was named, and the following award was made:

FINDINGS OF THE COURT OF HONOR.

"The undersigned, having been called upon, and appointed by his Excellency, Governor Milledge, as a Court of Honor, to interpose and adjust the unhappy difference existing between Gen. John Clark and William H. Crawford, Esq., and these gentlemen, by their friends, Captain Cobb and Colonel Flournoy, having yielded to the call of his Excellency, by a full and free submission of the causes of their controversy to our decision by which we have become the depositaries of their honor, we cannot in this place omit observing that in this regard, it is our opinion, these gentlemen have discovered by such submission more magnanimity and real courage, than could have been exhibited by a contrary course. We have had before us and perused alternatively the various publications made by these gentlemen on the subject of their differences, and cannot but say that they have been made with too much heat on both sides, and no doubt, in their opinion, justified that resort which caused the present proceedings. While on this part of the subject we take leave to observe, that newspaper publications, where abuse and bad language is very apt to be introduced are peculiarly offensive to the ear and feelings of a gentleman, and ought as much as possible to be avoided, and we sincerely lament the occurrence of them upon this occasion, and trust there are other means more consistent by which matters of controversy can be explained and understood. Upon the whole we are fully and clearly of the opinion that General Clark and Mr. Crawford have been led into a dispute, the foundation of which has not sufficient weight, and ought not to have produced the subsequent heat and animosity, which might have led to consequences truly serious and calamitous to themselves and families, their friends and their country. We have no hesitancy

in declaring it to be our opinion that both gentlemen are brave and intrepid and do decree and award that they acquit each other of any imputation to the contrary, and that they relinquish their animosity, and take each other by the hand as friends and fellow citizens. Given under our hands at Louisville, this the 12th of December, 1804.

"JARED IRWIN,
"ABRAHAM JACKSON,
"JAMES SEAGROVE,
"D. B. MITCHELL,
"J. BEN MAXWELL."

The principals acceded to the decision and thus the matter was adjusted, but not without murmurings from General Clark, who long afterwards complained that the decision was too favorable to Mr. Crawford, did not cover the issues, and that it satisfied him thereafter what course to be pursued in Courts of Honor.

Before closing this chapter we will note a most ludicrous affair that occurred between parties who have figured conspicuously in this volume. John Dooly was an intimate supporter and friend of Clark. He became entangled in this feud with Judge Charles Tait, and so persistent and sharp the matter waxed that the Judge selected Crawford as his second to bear to Dooly a challenge to render such satisfaction as becomes a gentleman.

Dooly gravely accepted the challenge, promptly named time and place and selected General Clark for his second. Tait had a wooden leg. At the appointed hour he and his friends were at the spot agreed upon. They discovered Dooly alone patiently sitting on a stump. Crawford asked for his friend, General Clark.

"He is in the woods, sir," said Dooly with a nonchalant air.

"And will soon be present I presume?" asked Crawford.

"Yes, as soon as he can find a gum.*"

"May I inquire, Colonel Dooly, what use you have for a gum in the matter under settlement?"

"I want to put my leg in it sir. Do you suppose I can risk my leg of flesh and blood against Tait's wooden one? If I hit his leg he will have another one tomorrow, and be pegging about as well as usual; if he hits mine I may lose my life by it, but almost certainly my leg, and be compelled, like Tait, to stump it the balance of my life. I could not risk this, and must have a gum to put my leg in; then I am

* "Gum" means "gum" "tree" here

as much wood as he is, and on equal terms with him."

"I understand you, Colonel Dooly; you do not want to fight?"

"Well, really, Mr. Crawford, I thought everybody knew that."

"Very well, sir," said Crawford, "you shall fill a column of the newspaper in no enviable light."

"Mr. Crawford, I assure you I would rather fill two newspapers than one coffin."

It is scarcely necessary to add that Tait and Crawford left the field in disgust, and here the matter ended. *

CHAPTER VII.

THE CRAWFORD AND CLARK PARTIES

There are periods in the life of nations as in individuals when party spirit runs unusually high without any apparent reason—when better judgment seems blinded and men are swept on by a seemingly irresistible force in alignments that make idols of bad leaders, and principles are swallowed up in the personnel of the partisans. The affair between Clark and Crawford, so trivial in its origin, would seemingly not invoke the interest of any one save the parties directly concerned, but General Clark was thoroughly intrenched in the affections of the people as the military hero of the day, and although he was intemperate, vindictive and passionately violent, yet on account of the fact that he had rendered great service to the state as a soldier, he possessed the gratitude of the people.

His young opponent had risen by leaps and bounds in the admiration of the public, and had on every opportunity shown courageous audacity, vigor or thought, fidelity to principle, and his speeches in the legislative hall were so possessed of finished diction that they resembled the cuttings of an antique cameo. Words fell from his lips like hard, bright dollars from the coiner's mint. No wonder that the wise old statesmen, Jackson, Early, Milledge and William Barnett, with prophetic eye, saw in him a man of unusual promise, and accorded to him their active support and influence. There was but one political party in Georgia, for all her people were nominally Jeffersonian Republicans, so that candidates stood alone on personal fitness when aspiring for office. This gave rise to that bitter antagonism which characterized the politics

*Spark's *Memoirs of 50 Years*, page 76; also *Andrews' Reminiscences of an Old Ga. Lawyer*, page 51.

of the state for nearly forty years, and long after the principal instigators had passed away. In these factious contests none could be neutral. All were compelled to take sides or be crushed between the contending parties. Such bitter animosities arose that Justice seemed to forget her Duty and Reason lose her sway. During the period of its baneful influence society was very detrimentally affected. Men were chosen for office because of party proclivities, intelligence and moral worth being too often forgotten. Friendships were severed, families divided and whole neighborhoods made hostile by its deplorable rancours. Every village had its Clark and its Crawford taverns. The limits of social intercourse were circumscribed to those of factional sympathy. Through all castes and classes of society the envenomed rule was the same—one of proscription. Churches were distracted and divided, and political Phillippics desecrated the pulpit for the first time within the state. Fisticuffs and fights galore were common. It was a general squabble, dividing counties, hamlets, beats and cross-road groceries.

The contest was without gloves. Hairpullings, gouging, biting and dragouts were seen, talked of and even enjoyed at every justice court and militia muster. To introduce the subject of politics in any promiscuous gathering was to promote a quarrel.

A son of Erin, lately from Limerick, opened a barroom in a village in Greene county. He endeavored to catch the trade of both parties by his strenuous neutrality. After a week's trial he gave it up in disgust. When describing this experience he said: "Whenever a Crawford man would come in the first thing he would inquire if this was a Crawford bar; and by faith when I told him I was naither he cursed me for a Clarkite and refused to drink. When a Clark man would come in and I told him I was naither he cursed me for a Crawfordite, and I sold not a gill to anyone. Faith, it pays to be a politician in Georgia."

There were quite a number of beneficial laws passed at the term with which Crawford was identified, and in fact, he became the leading spirit of the Legislature. Men loved, honored, followed and believed in him here as elsewhere, and his noble features, earnest, open manner, tall commanding figure claimed their regard and admiration. In 1806 Crawford introduced a resolution which passed the house unanimously, commending Thomas Jefferson for a third term.

The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That this Legislature, composed of the immediate representatives of the people, by them elected to declare their will, viewing the blessings and distinguished political benefits derived in a state and national capacity from the impartial, wise and judicious administration of Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, embrace this opportunity of expressing their full and entire confidence and approbation of his official conduct. At the present momentous crisis, when the civilized nations of the old world, to whom we are bound by the ties of interest or political friendship, are convulsed, and either engaged in the prosecution of destructive wars or forming coalitions which threaten the destruction of nations and dynasties, it is of utmost importance that our political barque should be directed by the hand of a master in whose integrity, discretion and wisdom the people of these United States can with safety rely. We therefore, in the name of the people of Georgia, request that Thomas Jefferson will devote four years more of his life to the service of his country, in order to more permanently establish those principles of political liberty which are the boast and glory of republican America." *

These considerate resolutions were immediately communicated to the Senate and concurred in without a dissenting vote. Such Jeffersonian Republicans were these Georgians!

The act creating Baldwin and Wilkinson counties was brought forward and pressed to a successful conclusion by Crawford. The vexed question of a boundary line between Georgia and North Carolina was permanently settled by a commission appointed by a resolution introduced by him.

John Clark, however, was still nursing his wrath which had not ceased to exhibit itself at intervals against Tait and Crawford in divers manners. As a champion of North Carolina settlers in Georgia he conceived it to be his duty to oppose and thwart the Virginians of whom Jackson and Crawford were the leaders. The community of interest between these two last named developed the idea that it was handed down by heredity that men of Virginia lineage should unite against what they actually believed was a conspiracy on the part of Clark and his followers to politically proscribe them.

In 1806 there were ten candidates for congress. Congressmen then were elected on a general ticket, and not according to district system. Among these candidates were Elijah Clark, Jr., and John M. Dooly, both of whom were defeated. The four successful candidates were: William W. Bibb, Capt. Howell Cobb, Dennis Smith and George M. Troup. This election demonstrated that the Clark party was losing strength, and it was hailed as a victory for the Virginians and their allies.

*Georgia House Journal, 1806, page 87.

On Feb. 24th, 1806, one Josiah Glass, who had come all the way from North Carolina with a warrant against Robert Clary of Greene county for negro stealing, went to Judge Tait, who was then in Sparta, to endorse the same. This Judge Tait did in due form. In a few days thereafter while Judge Tait was on the bench at Greene Superior Court he was handed the following letter:

"Sir: I have a man in my care who appears to be very anxious to make certain affidavits before your honor this evening, in a matter that greatly concerns the state of Georgia and the United States; he comes forward freely and of his own accord. I expect his deposition will be lengthy, and truly astonishing to your honor. I shall be glad to know if your honor can attend, and am sir, with all due respect, your honor's most obedient,
"JOSIAH GLASS.

"N. B.—William H. Crawford is interested in a part of the aforesaid deposition, and will do well to attend.
"To Hon. C. Tait."

That evening after tea Judge Tait took with him a Mr. Oliver Skinner and went to the room where Clary was a prisoner in charge of Glass. A long confession was made by Clary, to which Tait seemed to have attached little importance, as he told Glass that the matter would not be prosecuted, as from the character of Clary it need not be made public. There was a clause in the affidavit of Clary which stated that John Clark had sold 1100 acres of land on Buckeye Creek, in the county of Washington, to one Collins for \$20,000 of counterfeit money. Glass took a copy of the affidavit and that copy soon came into the hands of Clark. When he ascertained that the affidavit had been taken at night Clark at once concluded that he had been made the victim of a conspiracy. Judge Tait, in order to explain matters, procured the venerable and distinguished William Barnett to see General Clark, but Clark was aroused to such a degree and so deeply wounded that no explanation or excuse would be heard. He refused to see Tait, and with greatest disdain and scorn stated these offers of peace were made to prevent him from probing the foul conspiracy. *

Clark then did a very singular thing. He presented a memorial to the Legislature asking for the impeachment of Judge Tait on account of what he was pleased to term a foul conspiracy the Judge had formed against him, as evidenced by this matter. This inconsiderate act of Clark had the effect, perhaps, of strengthening his friends who believed him a persecuted man, and that "The dark lantern affidavit" was of

†Principles of William H. Crawford, by Clark, p. 38.



CHARLES TAIT.

itself sufficient evidence on which to base impeachment. His enemies were likewise elated, for they saw in these flimsy charges brought by the impulsive and obstinate General, not the slightest grounds to make the matter one of public property, and that in the very nature of things, it could not be shown that an honorable judge who had certified to the affidavit of an adventurer, was a conspirator. They presaged that an investigation would certainly vindicate Tait, and probably place Clark in an unenviable position.

The proceedings were presented to the house in due form by Representative Simons as made out by General Clark, and same were submitted to a special committee of seven members of the House. *

After this a letter was presented to the House from Clark to the Speaker asking that he be allowed to interrogate the witnesses himself, and further stated in offensive terms his objections to Mr. Crawford, who was serving on the committee of investigation.

The General charged in this letter that Crawford had procured the appointment of himself in some indelicate way to serve on the committee, and that it was like sitting on his own case. †

One of the members, stung by the impertinence and arrogance of this communication, moved "to lay the letter under the table." As a relief to the situation John Morel, in a spirit of generosity, moved that Major General John Clark have leave to withdraw his letter to the Speaker. This resolution was carried by a vote of 57 to 3. Mr. Crawford voted aye.

The committee examined twenty-eight witnesses as presented by John Clark, and reported that from the whole of the testimony taken it did not appear that Judge Tait had any connection with Glass or Clary, or knew what confession Clary would make, and that the conduct of the Judge was without blame in the whole transaction. After summing up the facts the report concludes as follows: "Your committee are decidedly of the opinion that no improper or corrupt motives can, with justice or truth, be imputed to the Judge on that occasion, and if the reputation of the memorialist has been injured by the confession such confession cannot, with propriety or truth, be attributed to the Judge."

The speech that Crawford made in favor of the adoption of this report has not been preserved except by tradition.

*Journal House Representatives 1806, page 8.

†Exposition of Principles of W. H. Crawford by John Clark, page 42.

His summing up of the facts was with that violence that betokens at once the depth of personal friendship for Tait, and indignant contempt in which he held those who were urging the memorial. Never did he appear to better advantage. His eloquence was of that powerfully convincing sort that, like the cyclone, sweeps everything before it. No one could withstand his irresistible logic. When the vote was taken, although there were many representatives who as common soldiers had followed General Clark, when only sixteen years old he was a lieutenant in the war of the Revolution, and although many of the members were warmly attached to him for favors received, yet the vote on the resolution stood fifty-seven in favor of its adoption and only three against it.

The truth of the matter was now apparent that Clary, an unprincipled fellow, knowing the differences between these distinguished men, had sought to help his own case while under arrest by making the charge against General Clark, and the General was too ready to believe what was told him. He could not rid himself of the idea that Tait and Crawford had originated the charges to do him injury. Failing in the Legislature to receive the expected vindication, he resolved to take the matter in his own hands, and accordingly sent Crawford the following challenge:

CLARK TO CRAWFORD.

"LOUISVILLE, 2nd. Dec., 1806.

"The various injuries I have received from you make it necessary for me to call on you for the satisfaction usually offered in similar cases. My friend, Mr. Forsyth, is authorized to make the necessary arrangements on my part. With due respect I am, sir,

"Your humble servant,

"JOHN CLARK.

"William H. Crawford, Esq."

CRAWFORD TO CLARK.

"Sir: Your challenge of this date is accepted, and my friend, Captain Moore, will, on my part, make the necessary arrangements. I am, sir, with respect,

"Your humble servant,

"W. H. CRAWFORD.

"To General Clark."

John Forsyth was engaged in the Federal Court at this time, and Major Gilbert Hay was selected by Clark as his second, and the following agreement was made as to the proposed meeting:

Article 1st. The pistols are to be smooth bore, and loaded with a single ball by the seconds of the parties, in the presence of each other and their principals.

Art. 3rd. The seconds of each party shall place the pistol in the right hand of his friend, cocked, with the barrel as nearly perpendicular as possible, pointing up or down, and neither of the principals shall alter the position of the pistol until the word of command is given.

Art. 5th. A snap or a flash to be considered the same as a shot.

Art. 7th. No conversation between the parties but through their friends.

Art. 9th. Choice of ground and the word to be decided by lot.

Art. 10th. The seconds shall be properly armed to prevent a transgression of these rules and the interposition of any other person.

Art. 11th. If either of the principals deviate from the foregoing rules, or attempt to take any undue advantage, either or both of the seconds are at liberty to fire at him.

Art. 12th. If either party falls no person except the surgeon shall be admitted until the opposite party leaves the ground.

Dec. 16th, 1806, at the High Shoals on the Appalachee on the Indian Territory.

The parties met according to appointment, and were delayed sometime in coming to an agreement. It appears that the second of Clark raised several points of controversy, and had been instructed by Clark to "yield nothing." By this quibbling the meeting was postponed from 12 m. to one o'clock. Crawford got out of temper, and was thrown com-

pletely off his guard. * He, although brave and fearless, was in every way unfitted for a duellist. His polished amiability and amenity of disposition indicate that disqualification to engage in affairs of this kind, which his natural awkwardness and nervousness all the more emphasized. Clark, on the contrary, was a practiced fighter, thoroughly skilled in the use of weapons and equally courageous.

The result was as might have been anticipated. Crawford swaggered to the peg with the same degree of carelessness that he was wont to rise to address a country jury. His left arm was forgotten and heedlessly held unprotected by his body in a way to catch the ball of the rawest duellist. At the first fire Clark was untouched and Crawford's left wrist was shattered and the bones crushed in a way to cause him many weeks of excruciating pain. Clark was not satisfied, and insisted that the shots be continued until one should prove mortal. The terms of the agreement, however, had been complied with, and George Moore declined to allow his principal to proceed farther.

Clark's animosity, however, was not appeased. Without any renewal of the quarrel and without fresh cause for anger he sought to renew the combat. The following is a copy of a note from Clark, and Crawford's reply:

CLARK TO CRAWFORD.

"22nd July, 1807.

"Sir: From the understanding at our interview in December last, you have no doubt (since the restoration of your health), anticipated this call. It is high time that the difference between us should be brought to a final issue, and from the situation in which the affair was left, I presume nothing more is necessary than for you to appoint the time and place. My friend, Mr. Sherrod, will hand you this and receive your answer. Your humble servant,

"JOHN CLARK.

"William H. Crawford, Esq."

CRAWFORD TO CLARK.

"23rd. of July 1807.

"Sir: Since the receipt of your note yesterday by the hands of Mr. Sherrod I have obtained the perusal of the communications which passed between Captain Moore and Major Hay on the 16th of December last, from which it appears to be that the contest was brought to a final issue and the difference adjusted as far as an interview of that kind is intended or calculated for adjustment. Capt. Moore, pursuant to the latter part of the sixth article agreed upon, determined

*Gilmer's Georgians, p. 127.

that the contest was at an end. I therefore shall decline the appointment of time and place. I am, sir, your obedient servant,
W. H. CRAWFORD.

"Gen. John Clark."

These communications, like the previous one, appeared in the papers of the state, and the unpleasing results of the duel only stirred fiercer elements of political strife and confirmed and increased all previous animosities. Never were Scotch highlanders more responsive to the bugle horn of Rhoderick Dhu than were the aroused factions of Georgia politics to the call of partisans. Mountain and valley, hill and dale, echoed with the warwhoop that might have startled Clan Alpine warriors. Men waited not to hear, reason or argue the causes, but madly almost savagely aligned themselves with unshaken confidence and zeal in the integrity and virtue of their respective leaders.

In the summer of 1807 on a day when Judge Tait was driving along Jefferson street, in Milledgeville, General Clark came up gracefully cantering on a beautiful sorrel. The General always rode a fine horse with best accoutrements. His was a splendid figure, and men said he was a born soldier. Riding up to Tait he thus accosted him:

"This is the first time I have seen you, sir, since your hasty departure from Louisville."

"Yes," replied Tait, "I have not seen you since."

"Judge Tait, you have, under cloak of judicial authority, sought to destroy my reputation, and for your infamous attempt I shall give you the lash."

Saying this before any reply could be made General Clark came down with his riding whip inflicting blows on the shoulders of this distinguished and one-legged jurist. Tait's horse took fright, but Clark kept alongside of him until his wrath was appeased by the scourges of his heavy cowhide on the person of his adversary. *

The reader will no doubt be curious to know how General Clark would attempt to justify such an atrocious attack on a judge of the Superior Court. In his book entitled "Consideration of the Purity of the Principles of W. H. Crawford," etc., written by him in reciting all his differences with Crawford from which we have so largely quoted, Clark thus refers to this episode:

"I presume if his back had been exhibited it would have presented thirty or forty marks of my attention. After giving him this dressing I told him that he might go about his own business, as I had now done with him. This

*Andrew's Reminiscences p. 61.

transaction I certainly would not pretend to say was in strict conformity to public order, nor would it have taken place had any method been left by which I could have obtained redress for any attempt against my character and peace of mind, which for the honor of human nature has, I believe, been seldom equaled in baseness, and in which I could not, in justice to the judge or myself, suffer to pass wholly unpunished. And this occurrence I consider would afford and be viewed by others as furnishing a sufficient stimulus for the production of any and every proof which the judge and his friends might be able to command in support of the slanders they had been instrumental in circulating. This transaction, as was necessarily to be expected, occasioned an indictment against me, to which I plead guilty, and stated in mitigation the circumstances which led to it. The presiding judge did not consider the proceedings justifiable, and on my acknowledgement of the facts sentenced me to pay a fine of two thousand dollars and to find security for my conduct for good behavior for five years.

"The sentence was thought by many to be an extraordinary one. His excellency, Governor Irwin, however, by an executive order soon after remitted it in all its parts. He was too good and amiable a man to have countenanced illegal acts of violence, nor would he probably have recommended the course I had pursued; but he himself had been waited upon by Glass, and had in other ways become acquainted with so many particulars of the proceedings against me that he did not hesitate to express to me his opinion that Mr. Crawford and Mr. Tait were at the bottom of them, and this opinion no doubt led to his remission of the sentence."

The judge that imposed this sentence was Peter Early.

Clark always claimed to be persecuted, and it is probable that Governor Jared Irwin believed it; but many partisans of Clark joined with a majority of the people of the state in condemning this inconsiderate pardon which had no better excuse than that the Governor was affected with that party spirit so characteristic of those strange times—a spirit that perverted justice and often had effect on minds of those high in authority whose actions were otherwise free from bias and prejudice. Governor Irwin had with Clark served several years in the Revolutionary war, and had also fought under him in the Indian wars. He became a Brigadier of the militia, and like General Clark, was a native of North Carolina.

THE CAREER OF A UNITED STATES SENATOR.

In March, 1807, Abraham Baldwin, a United States senator from Georgia, died suddenly in Washington, D. C. In his twenty-two years of faithful public service to the state he had never lost but one day from duty. During the war of the Revolution he had been a member of the faculty of Yale College and came to Columbia County, Georgia, in 1784 to practice law. He was a member of the Federal convention of 1787 from Georgia, and evinced in all of his many public duties statesmanship and learning. From March to November, 1807, the place made vacant by the death of Mr. Baldwin was held by George Jones under appointment of the Governor; but it devolved upon the legislature, which convened in November of the same year, to elect a successor.

At this time the venerable Jefferson was serving the last of his second term as President. The first speech made by Crawford in the Senate was on the expulsion of John Smith, a senator from Indiana, who was charged with Aaron Burr in treasonable designs against the government. The testimony

* See his life in Brit. Am. Mus.

against the accused Senator was argued with force and perspicuity by Crawford, who after summing up the case, concluded in these words:

"I have lived in a section of the country which has not felt the general impression made by the movements and enterprises of Aaron Burr. I have attended to nothing but the testimony. I have had no acquaintance with Mr. Smith; I entertain no prejudice against him. I would feel as much gratified as any member of this body to be able consistently with my duty, to vote for his retaining his seat. Sir, the feelings of this house have been addressed; an appeal has been made to the humanity of the Senate. We have a duty to perform which is paramount to humanity; instead of resigning ourselves to our feelings, we ought to exercise our judgment and do that which the public good imperiously requires. From a full examination of the evidence I am constrained to say, that the conduct of Mr. Smith has been such as to render it highly improper for him to retain his seat in the highest council of the nation."

This was the last of many speeches made on this resolution. The vote of the Senate then taken was nineteen for, to ten against the expulsion. *

Crawford was too liberal in his views to be a blind follower of any party. It is true he advocated the doctrine of Jeffersonian simplicity and economy. He, however, marked out his course, and only when his sense of right approved a measure of his party did he choose to follow. No party trammels, no persuasion nor emoluments, no threats, nor intimidations could turn him from his conviction of right. Party ties could not fetter him beyond what his judgment and conscience approved; beyond this they were as powerless as the withes of the Philistines against the lusty strength of Samson.

In 1807, when the Embargo was the popular measure of the Jeffersonian party, Crawford opposed it as useless and mischievous. In November of this year the British Government issued its celebrated "Orders in Council," forbidding all nations to trade with France and her allies. Napoleon, not to be outdone, and with all Europe bending to his omnipotent rule, promulgated his "Milan Decree" prohibiting every description of trade with Great Britain who now alone of all the nations of Europe dared to defy him. English aggression was now almost unendurable, and it was apparent that war between England and the United States could not much longer be deferred. Between France and Great Britain it looked as if there was small escape for the poor little despised

*Benton's Abridgements Debates of Congress, Vol. 2, page 605.

*less than the needed two - the idea is with
the upon assigned - Dict. Am. Biog.*

American republic. In June previous an unprovoked attack by the British ship Leopard had been made on the American frigate Chesapeake just off the coast of Norfolk by which several of the latter's crew were killed and four of them taken away. This created intense indignation throughout the Union. Petitions and remonstrances flowed into the halls of congress from every part of the country. Mr. Jefferson endeavored by negotiations, embassies and pacific means in every way possible to arrest these proceedings. At last, to redress our grievances, on Dec. 18th, 1807, he sent in a special message to congress urging "an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States." Hon. William B. Giles of Virginia, the veteran debater and acknowledged spokesman of the Jefferson administration warmly championed the measure and it became at once the darling scheme of the Jeffersonian Republicans. Crawford opposed it as fraught with probable mischief, yet he was desirous of investigation and reflection, and moved to postpone action one day. This was refused. The bill was pregnant with results so extensive and important that he desired to figure on its probable effect before voting for it. He was the disciple and supporter of Jefferson, but it was the character of his mind not to yield a blind acquiescence to opinions of any individual. He believed that a war with Great Britain was imminent. He had little tolerance for concession and dilatory tactics in a course which he conceived as closed to amicable adjustment. He objected to this half-way, indirect measure that to him seemed cringing. The British government had made an unwarranted attack on the Chesapeake, and having refused to make amends he was in favor of war when all peaceful measures to procure an adjustment had been exhausted. Although far removed from any fraternizing spirit of harmony with the remnant of the old Federal party of that day, still his vote on the measure was cast with them and in opposition to his party. Jefferson was averse to war. He believed the milder course of enacting spirited retaliatory measures as against the British orders in Council and Napoleonic decrees was the preferred line of conduct. In this matter Crawford was for declaring a firm adherence and assertion of American rights, and did not wish to temporize. In after years when the message of Mr. Madison on this question of war was before the Senate he held the same view, and did not scruple to charge him with ambiguousness on the point of war or peace in his celebrated message of 1812 characterizing it as akin to the

"sinuous, obscure and double meaning of a Delphic oracle." Every vote he ever cast in the senate when this question was before that body manifested his advocacy of an early resort to arms to redress the grievances and indignities heaped upon this country by Great Britain. He was at variance with and in advance of his party in the great practical questions at issue; still the high order of talent manifested in maintaining his position won for him the respect which he ever afterwards retained in that august body.

A reduction of the navy was always a prominent feature in the administration of Mr. Jefferson. It was a current sentiment of those times that a great navy would have a tendency to embroil us in war. Crawford shared this belief in a measure. But the brilliant achievement of the navy in the war of 1812 and the insecurity that this country still bore from Great Britain and other European nations, even after the unexpressive and unsatisfactory articles of peace had been signed, caused him to change his mind on this matter, so that we find him in 1815 voting for \$1,000,000.00 annual appropriation for support of the navy. In one of his reports he speaks of the navy as "An essential means of national defense."

In every appropriation of public money he was always insistent that the cause, manner and place of expenditure be distinctly and specifically set out so as to leave as little as possible to executive discretion. Every safeguard against waste, divergence and speculation he always sought to embrace in bills for government expenditure. This exactness and economy advocated by him gave rise to the name of "Radicalism" with which his enemies attempted to blast his fame. The result, however, was to draw to him the support of the business interest of the country and to make for him legions of friends throughout the nation who rejoiced to see in public affairs that same business acumen, economy and sagacity that should exist in the administration of private business.

In 1808, the year after the Embargo Resolution had become a law, an effort was made in the Senate to secure its repeal unless war was to be immediately declared. He was not in favor of making any concessions to hostile powers. He spoke of the fact that his own state had willingly submitted to it, although no section of the Union was more vitally affected by its operations. The produce of the state lies on the people's hands for want of transportation, but they do not complain. No other article in the United States

equals cotton in amount of export. The only substitute for the Embargo is war and no ordinary war. If the present Embargo is injuring British commerce, as we are led to believe by reports of British merchants, may not the Embargo procure a repeal of the edict against our commerce without going to war or abandoning neutral rights? There is now no lawful commerce. No vessel of the United States can sail without danger from England or France; and he asked, whether men who had any regard for national honor would navigate the ocean under terms so disgraceful! The argument of the gentlemen on the other side is one of *in terrorem*. "It may be," said he, "a forcible argument with some gentlemen and most likely may have had its effect on those who intend to produce an effect on others; but this house and this nation are not to be addressed in this way. Our understanding may be convinced by reason, but an address to our fears ought to be held with contempt. If the nation considers any course proper it would be base and degrading to be driven from it by discordant murmurs of a minority. No man feels more imperiously the duty of persevering in a course which is right, notwithstanding the contrary opinions of a few; and although I may regret and respect the feelings of these few, I will persist in the course which I believe to be right at the expense even of the government itself!"

New England had gone to the point of rebellion, and secession in the Hartford Convention was almost a reality by these manufacturers who were dissatisfied with all restrictive measures,* and loud in their denunciation of war. Secession of the New England States was threatened and feared. The New Englanders then had not the slightest doubt of their constitutional right to secede from the Union. The cities of the north were scarcely less reconcilable to hostilities that would cripple them. James Madison, the President, dallied and doubted. Those friends who coincided with Crawford gave no light reprehension on this doubting, hesitating policy. Finally breaking loose from his procrastinating counsels Madison staked the destiny of the nation on open avowed war. This decision of the President made him few friends and many enemies, but it gave vitality to Jeffersonian Democracy which was now fast forming itself into a third political party under the bold leadership of William H. Crawford. A bolder and more defiant attitude at once was assumed. Bills were passed for increasing the navy, repairing and equipping certain frigates, for increasing the army to twenty-five thousand

*Manufacturers were then a major interest in New England. The dissatisfaction was

men, and authorizing the President to accept fifty thousand volunteers, requiring the executives of the several states and territories to hold their respective quotas of one hundred thousand men, fully organized, armed and equipped in readiness to march at call.

In 1811 Crawford was re-elected Senator without opposition.

In the early days of our republic the great and perplexing question that occupied the statesmen for so many years was the regulation of the finances of the government by the chartering of the United States Bank. The expediency and constitutionality of this measure was provocative of more party jealousy and rancor than perhaps any other measure for many years. Hamilton and Jefferson first crossed weapons upon this subject, and from thence sprang that factious warfare that has led to such acrimony and vindictiveness that has been bequeathed to their respective adherents from generation to generation. Hamilton was an ardent Federalist, and believed in a strong centralized government. Jefferson was an extreme Democrat, whose politics might be summed up in his favorite maxim: "That government governs best which governs least." Hamilton's politics was of the English school, and tended towards monarchical forms. Jefferson had imbibed much of French doctrines, but adhered to a strict construction of the constitution and was an uncompromising radical. Hamilton, in 1791, had revived and brought forward the project of a national bank. Jefferson opposed it as unconstitutional and contrary to the spirit of simplicity of our republican institutions. Hamilton and Jefferson were always at opposites. They differed on all subjects, always opposed in thought, action and opinion, and always quarrelled.

They differed widely on this issue of establishing a national bank. Washington, however, decided after a great deal of deliberation with Hamilton, and in 1791 signed the charter. In 1808 the application of the old stockholders for a new act of incorporation was referred to Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury. That officer recommended in decided terms the reincorporation. Jefferson, and Madison, his successor, were opposed on constitutional grounds to this measure, and the Republicans being in the majority the proposition was not formally considered. At the session of 1809-10 another ineffectual attempt was made, and again in 1811 to the confusion and alarm of ultra Democracy, the question came again into the arena under the advice and leadership

of Crawford. Breaking loose from all party ties he followed the course dictated by reason and experience as offering the most beneficent results.

In all the old civilized nations of Europe where the banks had so long been established not a doubt remained as to their great aid to commerce and government. In reviewing the old bank of 1791 he found that the effect had been most favorable upon the disordered finances of the country at that period; and it was most important to his mind that a similar institution be established for the purpose of correcting the evils flowing from the threatened war and to pilot the government by its friendly aid in the same manner as the finances were managed during the period immediately following the Revolution. He determined to advocate openly and zealously the renewal of the expired charter and not to be awed by party predilections nor to allow his opinion to be dwarfed by factious opposition. Against him were the whole formidable host of the Jeffersonian sect, with its talent, prestige and prejudice. Surely against this solid phalanx it were vain to give battle with any hope of success. On the one side was Crawford, James Lloyd of Massachusetts and John Pope of Kentucky. Ranged on the other side of this great question was the versatile Henry Clay of Kentucky, Samuel Smith of Maryland, Joseph Anderson of Tennessee and William B. Giles of Virginia. The magnitude and importance of the subject and the illustrious character of the disputants rendered the situation one of great moment. Crawford was chairman of the special committee to whom the application of the stockholders for the renewal of the charter had been referred. He had thoroughly mastered the subject, and the great "Harry of the West" was about to find in him a foeman worthy of his steel and one fully his equal in cogency of debate, and his superior in force and perspicuity of diction. Crawford fortified himself by a careful study of the able report of Mr. Gallatin recounting the history and workings of the institution and consulted extensively with the reports and depositions from the commercial interest of the different sections of the Union. He realized that the specious argument of its opponents was that the measure was unconstitutional, and on this issue the tide of victory would most certainly turn. This at least would be their choice; for if fought on the constitutionality the opposition would hope to cut off the array of evidence as to the practical workings. They sought this argument as a special demurrer to the whole

proceedings. But on the question of its constitutionality he was none the less prepared; and by logical reasoning and convincing deduction from facts and authorities he was not to be overmatched.

Both sides moved with heavy tread and measured step that closely evinced that this was a battle of giants. Henry Clay, the gifted, persuasive and polished orator, was the leader on the one side; Crawford, alert, forceful, convincing, powerful in his array of facts and argument was the leader on the other.

On the morning of the 11th of February, 1811, when the Senate had before it the consideration of this bill, it was Anderson of Tennessee, who, confident of great numerical advantage, moved to strike out the enacting clause and without debate force a vote which would at one fell swoop annihilate his adversaries in the shortest possible time. Both sides seemed slow to take the initiative in a general charge. General Smith called for the views of the movants which he claimed should precede his answer. Crawford then, not again endeavoring to provoke assault and asked no further postponement. To the surprise and consternation of the opposition he proceeded forthwith to deliver that speech which will ever stand as an enduring monument to his fame. For vigor and originality of thought, strong and irresistible reasoning and power of intellectual research this speech has rarely ever been surpassed in this or any other legislative body. He said:

"I shall proceed, though reluctantly, to explain the reasons of the committee for reporting the bill, which is now under consideration. After the most minute examination of the constitution the majority of that committee were decidedly of opinion that the Congress of the United States was clearly invested with power to pass such a bill. The object of the constitution was two-fold. First, the delegation of certain general powers, of a national nature, to the Government of the United States; and second, the limitation or restriction of the state sovereignties. Upon the most thorough examination of this instrument I am induced to believe that many of the various constructions given to it are the result of a belief that it is absolutely perfect. It has become so extremely fashionable to eulogize this constitution, whether the object of the eulogist is the extension or contraction of the powers of the government, that whenever its eulogium is pronounced I feel an involuntary apprehension of mischief. Upon the faith of this imputed perfection it has been declared to be inconsistent with the entire spirit and character of this instrument, to suppose that after it has given a general power it should afterward delegate a specific power fairly comprehended within the general power. A rational analysis of the

constitution will refute in the most demonstrative manner this idea of perfection. This analysis may excite unpleasant sensations; it may assail honest prejudices; for there can be no doubt that honest prejudices frequently exist, and are many times perfectly innocent. But when these prejudices tend to destroy even the object of their affection it is essentially necessary that they should be eradicated. In the present case, if there be any who, under the convictions that the constitution is perfect, are disposed to give it a construction that will render it wholly imbecile, the public welfare requires that the veil should be rent and that its imperfections should be disclosed to public view. By this disclosure it will cease to be the object of adoration, but it will nevertheless be entitled to our warmest attachment.

"The 8th section of the 1st article of the constitution contains, among others, the following grant of powers, viz: To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standards of weights and measures; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes; to establish postoffices and postroads. This section contains five grants of general power. Under the power to coin money it is conceded that Congress would have a right to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the money after it was coined, and that this power is fairly incidental to, and comprehended in the general power. The power to raise armies and provide and maintain a navy comprehends beyond the possibility of doubt the right to make rules for the government and regulation of land and naval forces; and yet in these three cases, the constitution, after making the grant of general power, delegates specifically the powers which are fairly comprehended within the general power.

"If this, however, should be denied, the construction which has been uniformly given to the remaining powers which have been selected, will establish this fact beyond the power of contradiction. Under the power to regulate commerce Congress has exercised the power of erecting lighthouses as incident to that power, and fairly comprehended within it. Under the power to establish postoffices and postroads Congress has provided for the punishment of offenses against the Postoffice Department. If the Congress can exercise an incidental power not granted in one case it can in all cases of a similar kind. But it is said that the enumeration of certain powers excludes all other powers not enumerated. This is true so far as original substantive grants of power are concerned, but it is not true when applied to express grants of power, which are strictly incidental to some original and substantive grant of power. If it were true in relation to them Congress could not pass a law to punish offenses against the postoffice establishment, because the constitution has expressly given the power to punish offenses against the current coin, and as it has given the power to punish offenses committed against that grant of general power, and has withheld in it relation to the power to establish postoffices and postroads, Congress

cannot, according to this rule of construction, so warmly contended for, pass any law to provide for the punishment of such offenses.

"The power to make rules for the regulation and government of the land and naval forces I have shown to be strictly incidental to the power to raise armies and provide and maintain navies; but, according to this rule of construction, all incidental powers are excluded except the few which are enumerated, which would exclude from all claim to constitutionality nearly one-half of your laws, and, what is still more to be deprecated, would render your constitution equally imbecile with the old Articles of Confederation. When we come to examine the 4th article the absurdity of this rule of construction, and also of the idea of perfection which has been attributed to the constitution, will be equally manifest. This article appears to be of a miscellaneous character and very similar to the codicil of a will. The first article provides for the organization of Congress; defines its powers; prescribes limitations upon the powers previously granted; and sets metes and bounds to the authority of the State Governments. The second article provides for the organization of the Executive Department, and defines its power and duty. The third article defines the tenure by which the persons in whom the judicial power may be vested shall hold their offices, and prescribes the extent of their power and jurisdiction. These three articles provide for the three great departments of government called into existence by the constitution, but some other provisions just then occur, which ought to have been included in one or other of the preceding articles, and these provisions are incorporated and compose the fourth article. The first section of it declares that, 'full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.' In the second section it declares that a person, charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime. A similar provision is contained in the same section relative to the fugitives who are bound to labor, by the laws of any state. In the first case which has been selected express authority has been given to Congress to prescribe the manner in which the records, etc., should be proved, and also the effect thereof, but in the other two no authority is given to Congress, and yet the bare inspection of the three cases will prove that the interference of Congress is less necessary in the first than in the two remaining cases. A record must always be proved by itself, because it is the highest evidence of which the case admits. The effect of a record ought to depend upon the laws of the state of which it is a record, and, therefore, the power to prescribe the effect of a record was wholly unnecessary, and has been so held by Congress—no law having been passed

to prescribe the effect of a record. In the second case there seems to be some apparent reason for passing a law to ascertain the officer upon whom the demand is to be made, what evidence of the identity of the person demanded and of the guilt of the partly charged must be produced before the obligation to deliver shall be complete. The same apparent reason exists for the passage of a law relative to fugitives who are bound to labor. According, however, to the rule of construction contended for, Congress cannot pass any law to carry the constitution into effect, in the two last cases selected, because express power has been given in the first, and is withheld in the two last. Congress has nevertheless passed laws to carry those provisions into effect, and this exercise of power has never been complained of by the people or the states.

"Mr. President, it is contended by those who are opposed to the passage of this bill that Congress can exercise no power by implication, and yet it is admitted, nay even asserted, that Congress would have power to pass all laws necessary to carry the Constitution into effect, whether it had given or withheld the power which is contained in the following paragraph of the eighth section of the first article: 'To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States or in any department or offices thereof.' If this part of the Constitution really confers no power it at least, according to this opinion, strips it of that attribute of perfection which has by these gentlemen been ascribed to it. But, sir, this is not the fact. It does confer power of the most substantial and salutary nature. Let us, sir, take a view of the Constitution upon the supposition that no power is vested in the government by this clause, and see how the exclusion of power by implication can be reconciled to the most important acts of the government. The Constitution has expressly given Congress power 'to constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court,' but it has nowhere expressly given the power to constitute a supreme court. In the third article it is said, 'the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.' The discretion which is here given to Congress is confined to the inferior courts, which it may from time to time ordain and establish, and not to the supreme court. In the discussion which took place upon the bill to repeal the judicial system of the United States in the year 1802 this distinction is strongly insisted upon by the advocates for the repeal. The supreme court was said to be the creature of the Constitution, and therefore, intangible,* but that Congress possessing a discretionary power to create or not to create inferior tribunals, had the same discretionary power to abolish them whenever it was expedient. But if even the discretionary power here vested does extend to the supreme court, yet the power of Congress to establish that court must rest upon implication, and upon implication alone. Under the authority to establish tribunals inferior to the supreme court, the power to establish a

** I. e., not to be touched by Congress.*

supreme court would, according to my ideas, be vested in Congress by implication. And, sir, it is only vested by implication, even if the declaration that Congress shall have power to pass all laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the power vested in any department or offices of the government should be held to be an operative grant. Under this grant Congress can pass laws to carry into effect the powers vested in the judicial department? What are the powers vested in this department? That it shall exercise jurisdiction in all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, etc., in all cases affecting ambassadors, etc., but the power to create the department and to carry into effect the powers given to or vested in that department are very different things.

"The power to create the supreme court cannot be expressly granted in the power to pass all laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the powers vested in that court, but must, as I have endeavored to prove, be derived by implication. Let me explain my understanding of a power which exists by implication by an example which will be comprehended by all who hear me.

"In a devise an estate is granted to A, after the death of B, and no express disposition is made of the estate during the life of A; in that case A is said to have an estate for life, by implication, in the property so devised. So when the Constitution gives the right to create tribunals inferior to the supreme court the right to create the supreme is vested in Congress by implication. Shall we after this be told that Congress cannot constitutionally exercise any right by implication?

"By the exercise of a right derived only from implication Congress has organized a supreme court, and then as incidental to power, existing only by implication, it has passed laws to punish offenses against the law by which the court has been created and organized. Sir, the right of the government to accept the District of Columbia exists only by implication. The right of the government to purchase or accept of places for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals and dock yards exists only by implication, and yet no man in the nation, so far as my knowledge extends, has complained of the exercise of these implied powers, as an unconstitutional usurpation of power. The right to purchase or accept of places for the erection of lighthouses, as well as the right to erect and support lighthouses, must be derived by implication alone, if any such right exists. The clause in the Constitution which gives Congress the power 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings,' certainly gives no express power to accept or purchase any of the places destined for the uses therein specified. The only power expressly given in this clause is that of exercising exclusive legislation in such places; the right to accept or

purchase must be derived by implication from this clause, or it must be shown to be comprehended in or incidental to some other power expressly delegated by the constitution. I shall now attempt to show, that according to the construction which has been given to other parts of this Constitution, Congress has the right to incorporate a bank to enable it to manage the fiscal concerns of the nation. If this can be done, and if it can also be shown that the correctness of such construction has never excited murmur or complaint—that it has not even been questioned, I shall have accomplished everything which it will be incumbent on me to prove to justify the passage of the bill upon your table. The power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, together with the power to pass all laws which may be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing powers, when tested by the same rule of construction which has been applied to other parts of the constitution, fairly invests Congress with the power to create a bank. Under the power to regulate commerce Congress exercises the right of building and supporting lighthouses. What do we understand by regulating commerce? Where do you expect to find regulations of commerce? Will any man look for them anywhere else than in your treaties with foreign nations and in your statutes regulating your custom houses and custom house officers? What are the reasons for vesting Congress with right to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states? The commerce of a nation is a matter of the greatest importance in all civilized countries. It depends upon compact with other nations and whether they are beneficial or prejudicial depends not so much on the reciprocal interest of nations as upon their capacity to defend their rights and redress their wrongs. It was therefore highly important that the right to regulate commerce with foreign nations should be vested in the national government. If the regulation of commerce among the several states had been left with the states a multiplicity of conflicting regulations would have been the consequence. Endless collisions would have been created, and that harmony and good neighborhood, so essential between the members of a Federal republic, would have been wholly unattainable. The best interest of the community, therefore, imperiously required that this power should be delegated to Congress. Not so of light houses. The interest of the states would have induced them to erect light houses where they were necessary, and when erected they would have been equally beneficial to their own vessels, the vessels of their sister states, and of foreign nations. The performance of this duty could have been most safely confided to the states. They were better informed of the situation in which they ought to be erected than Congress could possibly be, and could enforce the execution of such regulations as might be necessary to make them useful. How then has it happened that Congress has taken upon itself the right to erect light houses under the general power to regulate commerce? I have heard and seen in the public prints a great deal of unintelligible jargon about the incidentalness of a law to the power

delegated and intended to be executed by it and of its relations to the end which is to be accomplished by its exercises, which I acknowledge I do not clearly and distinctly comprehend, and must therefore be excused from answering. I speak now of the public newspapers, to which I am compelled to resort to ascertain the objections which are made to this measure, as gentlemen have persevered in refusing to assign the reasons which have induced them to oppose the passage of the bill. But, sir, I can clearly comprehend that the right to erect light houses is not incidental to the power of regulating commerce, unless everything is incidental to that power which tends to facilitate and promote the prosperity of commerce. It is contended that under the power to lay and collect taxes, imports and duties you can pass all laws necessary for that purpose, but they must be laws to lay and collect taxes, imports and duties, and not laws which tend to promote the collection of taxes. A law to erect light houses is no more a law to regulate commerce than a law creating a bank is a law to collect taxes, imposts and duties. But the erection of light houses tends to facilitate and promote the security and property of commerce, and in an equal degree the erection of a bank tends to facilitate and insure the collection, safe keeping and transmission of your revenue. If, by this rule of construction, which is applied to light houses, but denied to the bank, Congress can, as incidental to the power to regulate commerce, erect light houses, it will be easy to show that the same right may be exercised, as incidental to the power of laying and collecting duties on imports. Duties cannot be collected unless vessels importing dutiable merchandise arrive in port. Whatever, therefore, tends to secure their safe arrival may be exercised under the general power. The erection of light houses does facilitate the safe arrival of vessels in port, and Congress therefore can exercise this right as incidental to the power to lay imposts and duties.

"But it is said the advocates of the bank differ among themselves in fixing upon the general power to which the right to create a bank is incidental, and that this difference proves that there is no incidentalness, to use a favorite expression, between that and any one of the enumerated general powers. The same reason can be urged, with equal force, against the constitutionality of every law for the erection of light-houses. Let the advocates of this doctrine lay their finger upon the power to which the right of erecting light-houses is incidental. It can be derived with as much apparent plausibility and reason from the right to lay duties as from the right to regulate commerce. Who is there now in this body who has not voted for the erection of a light-house? And no man in the nation, so far as my knowledge extends, has ever complained of the exercise of this power. The right to erect light-houses is exercised because the commerce of the nation, or the collection of duties, is greatly facilitated by that means; and, sir, the right to create a bank is exercised because the collection of your revenue, and the safe-keeping and easy and speedy transmission of your public money is not simply facilitated, but because these important objects

are more perfectly secured by the erection of a bank than they can by any other means in the power of human imagination to devise. We say, therefore, in the words of the constitution that a bank is necessary and proper to enable the Government to carry into complete effect the right to lay and collect taxes, imposts, duties and excises. We do not say that the existence of the Government absolutely depends upon the operations of a bank, but that a national bank enables the Government to manage its special concerns more advantageously than it could do by any other means. The terms necessary and proper, according to the construction given to every part of the constitution, imposes no limitation upon the powers previously delegated. If these words had been omitted in the clause giving authority to pass laws to carry into execution the powers vested by the constitution in the national Government, still Congress would have been bound to pass laws which were necessary and proper, and not such as were unnecessary and improper. Every legislative body, every person invested with power of any kind, is morally bound to use only those means which are necessary and proper for the correct execution of the powers delegated to them. But it is contended that if a bank is necessary and proper for the management of the fiscal concerns of the nation, yet Congress has no power to incorporate one, because there are state banks which may be resorted to. No person who has undertaken to discuss this question has, so far as my knowledge extends, ventured to declare that a bank is not necessary. Every man admits, directly or indirectly, the necessity of resorting to banks of some kind. This admission is at best an apparent abandonment of the constitutional objection; for, if a bank is necessary and proper, then has Congress the constitutional right to erect a bank. But this is denied. It is contended that this idea rests alone upon the presumption that the Government of the United States is wholly independent of state governments, which is not the fact; that this very law is dependent upon the state courts for its execution. This is certainly not the fact. The courts of the United States have decided, in the most solemn manner, that they have cognizance of all cases affecting the Bank of the United States. Sir, it is true that the Government of the United States is dependent upon the state governments for its organization. Members of both Houses of Congress, and the President of the United States, are chosen by state governments or under the authority of their laws. But it is equally true that wherever the constitution confides to the state governments the right to perform any act in relation to the Federal Government it imposes the most solemn obligation upon them to perform the act. The constitution of the United States, as to these particular acts, is the constitution of the several states, and their functionaries are accordingly sworn to support it. Can it then be seriously contended, that because the constitution has in some cases made the Government of the United States dependent upon the state governments, in all which cases it has imposed the most solemn obligations upon them to act, that it will be necessary and proper for Congress to make itself dependent upon them

in cases where no such obligation is imposed? The constitution has defined all the cases where the Government ought to be dependent upon that of the states; and it would be unwise and improvident for us to multiply these cases by legislative acts, especially where we have no power to compel them to perform the act, for which we have made ourselves their dependents. In forming a permanent system of revenue it would be unwise in Congress to rely, for its collection and transmission from one extreme of this extensive empire to the other, upon any accidental circumstance, wholly beyond their power or control. There are state banks in almost every state in the union, but their existence is wholly independent of this Government, and their dissolution is equally so. The Secretary of the Treasury has informed you that he conceives a bank is necessary to the legitimate exercise of the powers vested by the constitution in the Government. I know, sir, that the testimony of this officer will not be very highly estimated by several honorable members of this body. I am aware that this opinion has subjected him, and the committee also, to the most invidious aspersions; but, sir, the situation of that officer, independent of his immense talents, enables him to form a more correct opinion than any other man in the nation of the degree of necessity which exists at the present time for a national bank, to enable the Government to manage its fiscal operations. He has been ten years at the head of your Treasury; he is thoroughly acquainted with the influences of the bank upon your revenue system, and he has, when called upon, declared that a bank is necessary to the proper exercise of the legitimate powers of the Government. His testimony is entitled to great weight in the decision of this question, at least with those gentlemen who have no knowledge of the practical effects of the operations of the bank in the collection, safe-keeping, and transmission of your revenues.

"In the selection of means to carry any of your constitutional powers into effect, you must exercise a sound discretion; acting under its influence, you will discover that what is proper at one time may be extremely unfit and improper at another. The original powers granted to the Government by the constitution can never change with the varying circumstances of the country, but the means by which those powers are to be carried into effect must necessarily vary with the varying state and circumstances of the nation. We are, when acting today, not to enquire what means were necessary and proper twenty years ago, not what were necessary and proper at the organization of this Government, but our enquiry must be, what means are necessary and proper this day. The constitution, in relation to the means by which its powers are to be executed, is one eternal now. The state of things now, the precise point of time when we are called upon to act, must determine our choice in the selection of means to execute the delegated powers."

This speech was unanswerable. Crawford had simply anticipated all the arguments of the opposition, and having

gone carefully over the whole ground, his arguments could be met only in a discursive declamatory way; rarely did any opponent essay to answer by logical reasoning. Senator Giles spoke against the measure; but Crawford had completely forestalled his reasonings, and the remarks of this veteran, eloquent and able debater were so rambling and tortuous that Henry Clay facetiously referring to him said:

"After my honorable friend from Virginia (Mr. Giles) had instructed and amused us with the very able and ingenious argument delivered on yesterday, I should have still forbore to trespass on the Senate, but for the extraordinary character of his speech. He discussed both sides of the question with great ability and eloquence, and certainly demonstrated that it was constitutional and unconstitutional, highly proper and improper to prolong the charter of the bank. The gentleman seemed to be in the predicament of Patrick Henry when he by mistake made a speech on the wrong side of a law case. His client rushing up to him before the jury whispered in his ear, 'You have undone me! you have ruined me.' 'Never mind, give yourself no concern,' said the adroit advocate, and turning again to the jury continued his argument by observing: 'May it please you gentlemen I have been urging what my adversary may say on his side. I will now show you how fallacious his reasoning and groundless his pretensions are.' The skillful orator then proceeded, satisfactorily refuted every argument made and gained his case. The success with which I trust the exertions of my honorable friend will on this occasion be crowned."

The complexion of the Senate as constituted politically was twenty-four Democrats and ten Federalists. Thus it was evident that for the bill to become a law a goodly number of Democratic votes were necessary to its support. So strongly had Crawford fortified his position with irrefutable argument that even Henry Clay, finding that victory was almost to be snatched from his grasp; sought to make answer in his spicy, racy way by the usual demagogical appeal to party prejudice and lower passions of the mind. In one of his lofty flights on this question Mr. Clay exclaimed: "It has been said by the honorable gentleman from Georgia that this has been made a party question, although the law incorporating the bank was passed prior to the formation of parties, and when Congress was not biased by party prejudices. It is true this law was not the effect, but it is no less true that it was one of the causes of the political divisions of this country. And if on one side the renewal has been opposed on party principles, let me ask if on the other it has not been advocated on party principles and where is the Macedonian Phalanx—the opposition in Congress? I believe, sir, I shall not incur the

charge of presumptions prophecy when I predict that we shall not pick up from its ranks one single straggler, and if on this occasion my worthy friend from Georgia has gone over into the camp of the enemy, is it kind in him to look back upon his former friends and rebuke them for the fidelity with which they adhere to their old principles?"

In the course of this speech Mr. Clay contended with great adroitness that Congress had not the power under the constitution to create a corporation, but that this power belonged to the states.

The debate, which lasted a fortnight, was not altogether of a quiet character. Senator Jenkins Whitesides, of Tennessee, with considerably acrimony declared that members of the Democratic party who were now forcing the reincorporation of the bank should be regarded as political apostates. This speech stung Crawford to the quick, and aroused his sensitiveness and irascible temper to that deep sense of resentment characteristic of highly sensitive minds conscious of honest motives. His fiery denunciation of such language as applied to a senator—declaring same indecorous and unbecoming—was scathing and timely. He declared no one outside the Senate chamber could apply such to him with impunity, and that the charge was made without proof to sustain it, and was plainly contradicted by the record.

Crawford, as chairman of the committee reporting the bill, made the closing argument in its favor. It was a spirited, masterful argument, reviewing and answering every point made against the bill in the course of the long debate. From this last speech we make only a few brief excerpts that will show to what tension matters were wrought. Referring to certain stinging remarks made by Senator Samuel Smith, he said:

"The gentleman from Maryland has said, and I am extremely sorry that he has, that the Bank of the United States had their agents in this city for two sessions intriguing with members of Congress to obtain a renewal of their charter. I can assure that gentleman that I have had as little to do with the agents of the bank as he has had. If, sir, I was disposed to retort upon those who are opposed to the renewal of the charter I would ask if they have not seen published in the Democratic papers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia extracts of letters said to be written in the city of Washington, charging the members of Congress who are in favor of it with being bribed and corrupted, and of being disposed to sell the sovereignty of the nation to British capitalists. Have they not seen in the same papers conversations detailed with great minuteness, which it is pretended

have passed between members of Congress, calculated to excite public odium and indignation against the friends of the bill now under consideration? Sir, I will not for a moment indulge an idea that these letters have been written or the conversation detailed by any member of this body. The idea that such has been the fact is too humiliating, too degrading, not only to this honorable body, but to human nature itself, to be entertained but for a moment. And yet, sir, the author of a charge, as base as it is false, against my honorable friend from Kentucky (Mr. Pope) has day after day occupied a seat in the gallery of the Senate, to which no person has a right of access but by an introduction of one of the members of this body. Sir, the highway robber when compared with the infamous fabricator of this base attempt to assassinate the reputation of this honorable member, becomes a virtuous and estimable character. Such, sir, has been the warfare which has been waged against the renewal of this charter. Denunciations and charges of political apostasy are the measures by which we have been assailed, from without and within. Sir, I have shown that the bank question was no party question in its origin; that it was a question upon which an honest difference of opinion always has existed and does now exist. Shall I be charged with deserting the standard of the people, while I am treading in the footsteps of the great father of his country?

"To the fervid imagination of my friend from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) the power to create a bank appears to be more terrific than was the lever of Archimedes to the frightened imagination of the Romans when they beheld their galleys suddenly lifted up and whirled about in the air, and in a moment plunged into the bosom of the ocean. Are these apprehensions founded in reason, or are they the chimeras of a fervid and perturbed imagination? What limitation does the constitution contain upon the power to lay and collect taxes, imposts, duties, and excises? None but that they shall be uniform; which is no limitation of the amount which they can lay and collect. What limitation does it contain upon the power to raise and support armies? None other than that appropriations shall not be made for a longer term than two years. What restriction is to be found in it upon the right to provide and maintain a navy? None. What upon the right to declare war and make peace? None, none. Thus the constitution gives to the Government of the United States unlimited power over your purses—unlimited power to raise armies and provide navies—unlimited power to make war and peace, and you are alarmed; you are terrified at the power to create a bank to aid in the management of its fiscal operations. Sir, nothing short of my most profound respect for honorable gentlemen, who have frightened themselves with this bugbear, could induce me to treat the subject seriously. Gentlemen have said that they are alarmed at the exercise of this power, and I am bound to believe them. Sir, after giving Congress the right to make war and peace; the right to impose taxes, imposts, duties and excises, ad libitum; the right to raise and support armies without restriction as to number or term of service; the right to provide and maintain

a navy without limitation, I cannot bring myself to tremble at the exercise of a power incidental to only one of these tremendous grants of power. The gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) contends that we have attempted to give a degree of weight and force to what we are pleased to call precedents, to which they would not be entitled in those tribunals from which we derive all our ideas of precedents. I am happy to find that my friend from Virginia (Mr. Giles) agrees with me in opinion upon this subject. Indeed the principal difference between that gentleman and myself is confined to the question of expediency. He thinks that the construction which has been given to the constitution ought to be considered as conclusive; and that great inconvenience will be produced by unsettling what ought to be considered as finally settled and adjudged.

"Sir, I have closed the observations which I thought it my duty to make in reply to the comments which have been made upon the remarks which I had previously submitted to the consideration of this honorable body. If, sir, I preferred my political standing in the state which I have the honor to represent (and, sir, I do not profess to have any out of it) to the public welfare, I should rejoice at the success of the motion which has been made by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Anderson). But, sir, as I believe the public welfare infinitely more important than any fleeting popularity which an individual like myself can expect to enjoy, I shall most sincerely regret the success of that motion. Sir, I have said but little about the degree of distress which will flow from the dissolution of the bank, because I have not that kind of evidence which would enable me to judge of it with any degree of accuracy. The convulsed state of the European nations; the immense losses which our commerce has sustained by the operation of the decree and orders of the tyrants of the land and the ocean, imperiously admonish us to beware of making untried and dangerous experiments. By supporting this institution, the tottering credit of the commercial class of your citizens may be upheld, until the storm shall have passed over. By overturning this great moneyed institution at the present crisis, you may draw down to undistinguished ruin thousands of your unfortunate and unoffending fellow citizens."

The vote was then taken on the motion to strike out the enacting clause as follows: Ayes—Anderson, Campbell, Clay, Cutts, Franklin, Gaillard, German, Giles, Gregg, Lambert, Leib, Mathewson, Reed, Robinson, Smith of Washington, Whitesides and Worthington—17.

Nays: Bayard, Bradley, Brent, Champlain, Condit, Crawford, Dana, Gilman, Goodrich, Horsley, Loyd, Pickering, Pope, Smith of New York, Tait, Taylor and Turner—17.

This being a tie, Vice-President George Clinton cast the deciding vote with the ayes, and the bill was lost. Crawford, therefore, was not quite successful, but the way had been paved for a resuscitation of the measure in the next Congress;

the public mind had been educated to the importance of the measure as never before, and the support he had given to it sustained his political fortune to a greater triumph. In 1816, therefore, when the bank charter was passed James Madison approached Crawford as the champion of the measure, with demonstration of confidence and sympathy. Clay soon followed, and publicly announced with Calhoun and others a complete change of opinion on the re-establishment of the bank, and thereafter was warm in its advocacy. These events gave birth to the great Whig party which exercised so great a political influence for many years. It was largely composed of conservative Democrats, and also of the remnants of the old Federalist party. Crawford's speeches on this great question firmly laid the foundation of his national fame. The great prosperity that followed the reincorporation of the bank was manifest on every side. He made it a favorite of the nation and staked his whole political fortune on this single issue; so that his fame was inseparably connected with it. Time had verified his prediction and crowned his efforts with an unsurpassed success.

Crawford, although one of the most zealous and powerful advocates of war with Great Britain, yet after the death of Vice-President Clinton in April 1811 the recorded debates show but few speeches from him on any subject during this term. It became necessary upon the death of the Vice-President to elect a President pro tempore of the Senate, and to this high position he was unanimously chosen. To the duties of this office he brought that same fidelity, impartiality and ability that won golden opinion from all parties and expedited business with the highest degree of satisfaction. War against Britain was finally declared on June 18th, 1812. *Supplies were voted by Congress, and an early adjournment was made. The energy, patriotism and war spirit of the nation were now aroused. Stimulated to action by wrongs endured, the national feeling was one of alertness and unanimity. At this auspicious period the fame of Crawford was second to none in the country. The public voiced him as ranking among the greatest men of the nation. Thus trusted by the people, commended everywhere for his sagacity and counsel he closed one of the brightest careers in the Senate that has ever fallen to the lot of one of its members.

* Crawford voted for the declaration of
of war. Green, Public Life of W.
Harris Crawford, p. 2.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The Eastern states had set their faces in the beginning against war. These phlegmatic manufacturers saw in it nothing more than a destruction of their commerce. The Legislature of Massachusetts declared the war as "Impolitic, unnecessary and ruinous," and so memorialized Congress. The long series of insults and injuries on the part of Britain, the seizure of our vessels and cargoes, the irritating impressment of our sailors, and the humiliation with which England had sought to deal the young republic in return for the pacific measures of Jefferson and Madison, fired the southern and western heart to a fever of patriotic ardor. The constitutional timidity of Mr. Madison as a politician was provocative of much censure, but while blaming his precipitancy none questioned the purity of his motives.

Crawford was never in sympathy with the timid and dallying policy of the President on this question. The commerce of the United States in 1811 was almost ruined; pirates, privateers and mauraunders swept the ocean, our sailors were imprisoned and our merchandise confiscated. The Berlin and Milan decrees were still enforced to our injury and dishonor, and British orders in council remained, notwithstanding our protestations. When, however, war was actually declared all dallying ceased, and President and people united with zeal and enthusiasm, as the American eagle led on to victory. John Randolph, in an impassioned address alluding to England's maritime supremacy, spoke of the conflict as a battle of the shark and tiger. In casting around for a Secretary of War to whom the people could turn with greatest confidence in a crisis like this, the eye of the President rested upon Crawford, and to him was offered this cabinet portfolio.

The offer, however, was declined. He gave the matter mature reflection and decided to remain in the Senate. The reason of this declination is not apparent. Some one has said, "Little glory has come to the army out of that war, and little was yet to come until Jackson's victory at New Orleans, after the peace was signed;" and it may be that Crawford saw in the peculiar features of the army of this country an undertaking which any man's genius would be feeble and incompetent until the people would be more persuaded to resign individual rights for the public safety. * This reason

*Address of C. N. West on Crawford before Georgia Historical Society.

+ See note on p. 51.

would be unworthy of a noble mind and does injustice to his character. He had urged the declaration of war and he never doubted or feared the result. Whatever may have been his motives, and no one who has studied his character can doubt they were patriotic, yet it appears that his refusal to accept the position of Secretary of War was a mistake. This department, on account of the disrupted condition of the commerce of all the world, caused by the disturbed governments of Europe and their efforts to unite against the great Corsican, should have been the most interesting arm of the government.

Mr. Madison was eminently in need of just such a spirited counsellor. Although without military training Crawford was peculiarly fitted to direct the War Department at a time when vigor, firmness and rapidity of thought and strategic ability of mind were so imperatively needed.

His prescience, mental resources, energy, passion and enthusiasm were so strangely blended with dignity and deliberation that he has been compared with the elder William Pitt. *

The people of Georgia were enthusiastic and unwavering in their support of the war and its measures. Among the many acts of the legislature in its loyalty to home interest, and demonstrations of independence of British commerce, was a resolution passed by the general assembly in 1812 commanding every member to attend its sessions dressed in clothes made of goods spun and woven entirely within this state.

The relations between France and the United States in consequence of Napoleon's arbitrary decrees against our commerce were strained, and a spirit of resentment followed these harsh measures. Napoleon disingenuously claimed that the Berlin and Milan decrees were the consequence alone of British insolence, and were enforced against the United States merely to cause our government to precipitate war with Britain for relief against her Orders in Council. He declared the decrees were to be suspended as soon as we should procure a revocation of the British orders. Notwithstanding the selfish motive which actuated the French Emperor the United States received this pretended friendly advance with favor, because of the fact that the continued impressment of our seamen had irritated our Government beyond measure. President Madison, pondering over the situation, in April, 1813, appointed Crawford Minister to the Court of St. Cloud. A

*Cobb's Leisure Labors, page 177

bold demand was to be made on France for the repeal of these decrees, and a redress of grievances for her many acts of violence to our shipping interest, and, if possible, bring about a favorable commercial treaty. Napoleon was shortly to meet his Waterloo, Burning Mascow and the wretched miseries of the cold and starving remnant of a grand army, were of the past. All Europe, now fearing his insatiable ambition, were fast uniting against him. Like a tiger at bay, he was facing his enemies in an armistice of suspense and anxiety before closing in a final decisive combat.

Gay Paris, proud of her martial glory and agonized over her loss of treasure and men, still with a trust that never faltered, believed in their Emperor's lucky star, and hoped to the last for his final triumph. Such were the conditions when Crawford, in that momentous year, warned by his government to secretly set out and elude watchful British cruisers, departed with heavy heart for the French capital. Of that voyage, and of the country visited, and things seen, and his estimate of the distinguished characters with whom he came in contact, we are allowed to give in his own words. This diary is reproduced from the original now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. L. G. Crawford of Atlanta, Ga., who obtained it from his distinguished sire, N. M. Crawford, L. L. D.

CHAPTER X.

DIARY OF WM. H. CRAWFORD.

WASHINGTON, 4th June, 1813.

Set out at 4 a. m. by route to Fredericktown; breakfasted at Montgomery Court House, where I met Miss Worthington, who knew me, but immediately conjecturing that I wished to be unknown did not discover to the company who I was, or what were my views in traveling that route. Arrived at Fredericktown about twilight, and was much pressed by the bar keeper and servant to enter my name in their bar book. I told them that I demanded their services for which I would pay them, and as my name was wholly unnecessary for that purpose, I should not gratify them. The next morning the same attack was made on making out my bill, and was refused in the same manner.

Passed through Woodville, and breakfasted at Mrs. Gibson's, who told me she was a Federalist, but did not like her representative. He was too violent. The crops of wheat and other grains from Monocacy river to Fredericktown to Woodville were superior to anything I had ever seen. The fields of clover were luxurious beyond anything I had ever conceived. It was ready for mowing, and must have produced immense quantities of the richest hay. From Woodville, or rather from Mrs. Gibson's to Fancytown, the state of agriculture was not superior to that of the Southern states, and the production apparently inferior. Upon inquiry I learned that the whole of the land was held by tenants upon short leases. We dined at Fancytown, and slept two miles beyond Little's Town. The intermediate lands were extremely well cultivated, and the crops very luxuriant.

About five miles south of the town we entered Pennsylvania, and immediately on the line fell in with some drunken Dutchmen, who endeavored to make our horses run away with us. They were preparing to run a quarter race in the road, but as they spoke nothing but German, we understood neither the inducements to their rudeness nor the extent of their bets. This was Saturday evening preceding Whit Sunday, which I learned was a great day with our German brothers of Pennsylvania. I was also informed it was muster day almost the whole way from Fredericktown to Little's town. These two causes may account for the manifestation of intemperance which I saw throughout this day's journey. The tavern keeper did not like the war much, but said it had done much good to his neighborhood in enlisting all the vagabonds and drunkards who had for many years been preying upon honest people. I had, however, the strongest evidence that the recruiting officers might still be employed, even in his house, with great advantage to the neighborhood. I was annoyed excessively by the drunken folly, and kindness to me as a stranger. The house afforded me no protection against this intrusion, but that of going immediately to bed, which was expeditiously executed.

Sunday, 6th. We passed through New Hanover, or McAllister town, where some of the family who gave the name

to the place still reside. Judge McAllister of Savannah is the son of the founder of the little town. We passed through Yorktown and crossed the Susquehanna at Columbia, and slept two miles from that place. The cultivation and fertility of the country was somewhat inferior to that of the neighborhood of Fredericktown.

Monday, 7th. We passed through Lancaster, and breakfasted eight miles northeast of it. We fed at Rymestown, passed through Clarkstown, and arrived at Reding about dark. The cultivation and fertility of the land from the Susquehanna to Reding, with the exception of seven or eight miles of small mountains between Clarktown and Reding, is but little, if any, inferior to that of Fredericktown. This day was a day of reveling and of intemperance. Dancing and drinking were seen at every tavern in town and country. Indeed, during the whole of our journey on Sunday we were annoyed by drunken men.

We breakfasted at Codytown, 18 miles from Reding, and arrived at Allentown about an hour by sun.

Reding is a beautiful little town on the north bank of Schuylkill, which the citizens believe will be the second town in Pennsylvania. Allantown is situated on the southwest side of Lehigh, which is about as large as Schuylkill, which equals in size Broad river at its fork in Oglethorpe county. The citizens of the latter town think it will at least rival Reding. It is inferior in size and appearance of neatness to Reding. The Lehigh is navigable for boat to Easton, where it mingles its water with that of the Delaware. If the canal by which it is to be connected with the Susquehanna should be executed its growth may be rapid.

Six miles northeast of Allantown we passed through Bethlehem, which is small, but picturesque. Like Salem, in North Carolina, their church, school house and taverns are the most conspicuous buildings of the town. We made no stay in this place. We arrived at Easton at 12 o'clock, when I learned that the Morristown stage would arrive in the evening and set out for the place at 4 o'clock the next morning. I determined to dismiss the carriage in which I had traveled this far and take the stage for New York. Motives of economy, as well as expedition, induced me to adopt this course. Here, for the first time, except at Allantown, I procured a private diningroom, and spent the evening with Mr. Jackson with much pleasure. I observed the names of several young men and misses from Georgia inscribed on the window sills and facings of the diningroom on the second floor, and felt some degree of pleasure in knowing that my countrymen had been in the same room. Mr. Jackson followed their example, and I believe my name would have been added to these inscriptions but for the fear that it might disclose the object of my journey sooner than was consistent with my views.

Thursday, 10th. Set out at 5 a. m. and arrived at Morristown, 41 miles distant, at 3 p. m. The day was excessively rainy, cold, windy and disagreeable. I have seldom seen a worse day in March. The cultivation and fertility of the lands between Easton and Morristown were much inferior to the

Pennsylvania land. The whole extent was mountainous, but the mountains inconsiderable.

Friday, 11th. The country continues mountainous, but the cultivation and fertility improves as we approach New York.

We passed through Springfield, saw Elizabethtown on the right, and the highland on the North river on the left. The prospect was delightful, grand and picturesque. The clouds were broken and the sun frequently illuminated the summits of the surrounding mountains.

Newark is a beautiful town, consisting principally of one street, through which the stage from Philadelphia to New York passes. At the latter place we also took in a young man from New York of the name of Van Antwerp. Mr. Jackson, when at school at Flatbush, had frequently visited his mother's in company with another brother, who was his schoolfellow. A younger sister of the gentleman's who traveled in a chaise recognized Mr. Jackson, although she was a very small child when she saw him last.

Upon going into the steamboat I saw Mr. Fulton, surrounded by a number of persons, and expecting that if he saw me I should be discovered, I kept out of the way, and after I got into the public house, sent for him. He went with me to Mechanic Hall, where Mr. Jackson and myself dined. Mr. Jackson then called upon Dr. Butler, and upon Mr. Gholstein, the collector, who shortly after waited upon me. Dr. Butler assured me that he had rooms for Mr. Jackson and myself which he was extremely anxious we should occupy during the short stay we should make. We could be more private there than at a tavern. Captain Allen the commander of the Argus, lodged next door to him, and his house was near the wharf, immediately opposite to the house where the Argus was moored. I accepted his friendly invitation. Captain Allen came in, and with Dr. Butler and Mr. Gholstein, took tea with us. Upon leaving the tavern the lady was much disappointed, as she expected us to occupy the rooms for sometime, and had rejected an application for them only one hour before. Of course I was extremely sorry, and I presume her grief was in some measure appeased by charging and receiving \$8.00 for the dinner and tea. My grief was considerably diminished by the payment of that sum.

Sunday, 13th. The wind was directly ahead. I called on Mrs. Gallatin. She was writing a letter which she would send to Mr. Gallatin by a vessel of Mr. Astor's, which was expected to sail immediately for Russia. Dined with Mr. Fulton, who is deeply engaged in making experiments for fixing cannon under water. If he succeeds he will build a ship which will carry eight cannons nine feet under water, with which he will sink any vessel by penetrating her nine feet under water also. The cannons are to be of the largest calibre, and they are to be so arranged that the four balls on each side will converge to a point at a given distance, so

*Prof. Joseph Jackson, of University of Georgia, was appointed by Crawford his Secretary of Legation.

they will enter the ship at that point. He has recommended his plan to Commodore Decatur, who approves of it. If this is so I hope to hear of his success in the course of the year.*

Tuesday, 15th. Nothing occurred. Read the Memoirs of the Chevallier, afterwards Duke of Grammont.

Thursday, 17th. Dined with John Jacob Astor at his country seat, in company with Mrs. Gallatin, Mr. Binson, the son-in-law of Mr. Astor, and his lady, with Swertchhoff, the counsellor of legation, and the Russian consul at Philadelphia. Mr. Astor held out the idea of my sailing in his vessel bound for Russia.

Tuesday, 6th July. Cold, cloudy and showery. The gale rather stiff. At 4 p. m. saw sail on the lea bow; wished Captain Allen to speak to her and learn a little of what had occurred in Europe. A contest immediately commenced between the Argus and the strange sail which was ascertained to be a schooner to obtain the weather gage. The Argus succeeded, and hoisted Portuguese colors; the other hoisted British. The Argus then hoisted British colors; the schooner did the same. A gun was then fired from the Argus ahead of the schooner and another astern. American colors were then hoisted, and shot was fired directly at the schooner, and orders given to prepare for giving a broadside. The British colors were hauled down. She was pierced for sixteen, and had six guns. She was an American built schooner, captured on her first voyage from New York, in the bay of Biscay by a British cruiser, and sold in London, where she was captured, and sailed in April for Newfoundland. She sailed the first of June with a cargo of fish for Operto, which port she left on the 1st inst. in ballast. Captain Allen burnt her, and proceeded on his voyage. The master informed us that Lord Wellington had passed the Ebro without fighting a battle, and was within a few leagues of the main army, which it was believed would risk a general battle. The wind increased in the evening, and the sea became rough, which retarded the removal of the persons and their baggage on board the Argus.

Saturday, 10th. At daylight a sail was discovered on our lea-bow. The Argus tacked closer to the wind for the purpose of getting the weather gage. About 8 a. m. she was discovered to be a brig of war, and hoisted British colors. Saw another sail on the westward bow, and one on the windward quarter.

Continued the same course until 12 o'clock, laid by and sounded; found bottom at about 114 fathoms. Touched more to the south, believing we were too far north. In passing the British brig we came in gun shot, and cleared for action, but the enemy, after making various signals, none of which were answered by the Argus, who had hoisted no colors, she declined engaging. The officers were much disappointed in missing a fight, and insisted that the British brig had not

*The torpedo was an abortion until perfected by Gen. Gabriel J. Raines, U.S. A. who used the same in the Florida war of 1835. Later he put the submarine torpedo into effective service under command of Gen. R. E. Lee on the James River during the war between the States. An excellent sketch of Gen. Raines as author of the torpedo system is given in that interesting book "Grandmother Stories from the Land of Used-To-Be," by the gifted Howard Meriwether Lovett.

done her duty in declining the engagement. Captain Allen's orders forbade his engaging unless it was unavoidable. From the countenances and conduct of the officers I have no doubt but that the Argus would have taken her in a very short time. She carried 18 guns, and the Argus 20. In 20 minutes afterwards we saw a British frigate or ship of the line sailing westward. The brig then manifested a desire to come in contact with us, and crowded sail and stood for us. The other vessel, however, paying no attention to her or the Argus, she changed her course, and we lost sight of her before dark. We saw another sail ahead of us about sunset, and about 9 o'clock another was discovered astern.

At dawn two vessels were discovered on the north of the Argus, but they manifested a disposition to avoid us. At 8 a. m. we saw land, which we judged to be the coast of France, now the L'Orient which we wished to enter. The day was fine, and we were able within an hour afterward to distinguish the wheat fields from those of grass. We passed the Pennant Rocho and Islands, and discerned a village and a small port with a small vessel lying in it. A gun was fired for a pilot, but none came. We coasted along with a chart of the coast of France on the table, and fortunately entered the port L'Orient at 6 p. m. without having seen a sail except the vessel already mentioned. We were visited by a rude and bolsterous pilot, who told us we must perform quarantine, and must hoist a yellow flag. A health officer came alongside, who behaved more like a gentleman. By him we were informed that after the custom house officers had visited the ship the quarantine would be removed in the course of the next day, and we should be permitted to go on shore. Two gen d'armes came on board and quartered themselves, as well as the pilot, upon the crew. They behaved well, and said they had not had their dinners, and would not have anything to eat unless it was given them aboard the Argus. Captain Allen, who had been much irritated by the insolence of the pilot, said they might starve, but his natural good temper and humanity immediately dissipated this momentary gloom, and proposed that we should direct my steward to supply their wants, to which I immediately assented.

Monday, 12th July. The day was fine. We got a little higher up into the port.

At 12 we were visited by the officers of the police and of the customs. The former delivered a message of congratulation from the maritime prefect, General Dangier, and stated that when I should signify that I was ready to debark he would send his boat for me immediately. The principal custom house officers then came on board and examined the captain in a manner highly disagreeable to his feelings. I had to produce my commission to them. I delivered to them all the dispatches and letters of French legation which I had taken in charge, and also private letters, except from Americans to General LaFayette and to the principal officers of the Government. The formalities, the parade and the delay which was incident to every act of office made me feel that I was now in a country where the rulers were everything and the people nothing. In the United States we are insensible of

the existence of Government except in the granting of benefits. Here the most ordinary act is subject to be, and absolutely is, inspected by some officer. Captain Allen was highly irritated at the manner in which he was interrogated, and peremptorily refused to answer many of them. About six o'clock I got into the boat of the Argus commanded by L. Allen, and after taking leave of the captain, who fired a salute, I went up the river about one mile to the house of Mr. Vall, the American consul. This gentleman is in bad health, but supposed to be convalescent. He came, by special permission, to wait upon me on board the Argus, for he is not permitted to go on board an American vessel until the custom house and police officers have discharged their duty. They demand of ordinary persons all letters, newspapers and packages, which they open at pleasure, many of which are never seen afterwards.

26th. *Reached Paris some time before this date*
 Visited Mrs. Barlow, saw Mrs. Baldwin, was invited by Mrs. Barlow to dine with her on Wednesday; accepted the invitation. Mrs. Baldwin is her half sister, and had been unfortunately married to Jas. P. Kennedy, who, during her visit to her friends in Connecticut, took him another wife in the settlements on the Mobile. This caused her to be divorced and to resume her maiden name. She has a fine expressive countenance. She is still young and full of spirit, but from an injury to one of her knees has to use crutches.

Mr. Barnett, consul for Havre, called today and made me a tender of his services.

27th. Received the calls of many American gentlemen now in Paris. Wrote my first official note to the Duke of Bassano, minister of foreign affairs.

28th. Mr. D. Parker called on me. He is a native of Massachusettes, but long a resident in France. After many vicissitudes he has become rich. He is upward of sixty years of age. He owns the house in which Mrs. Barlow lives. He is remarkably attentive to the American ministers, and the Parisians say he has been, in fact, the minister for the last ten years. He dined with Mrs. Barlow this day. I then discovered Mr. Erwing. He appears to be sensible and well-informed, but eccentric in his manner and dress. I agreed to go with Mrs. Barlow and family, and Mr. Erwing to Dravel, the seat of Mr. Parker, on Friday next.

29th. Remained at home and saw no person.

30th. Set out in company with Mr. Erwing, Mrs. Barlow and Mrs. Baldwin and Mr. Jackson for Dravel. Arrived about 2 o'clock. Saw Mr. Stone, an Englishman, who attended to Mr. Parker's farm. He is one of the reformers who followed in the wake of Bruce and Prolsty, and was compelled to leave England about the time the latter gentleman went to United States. The country from Paris to Dravel is level and well cultivated, but not rich. We traveled almost the whole way, about twelve English miles, along the banks of the Seine. Parker has an estate of 10,200 acres, about two miles on the river and running back into the hills. The

* Widow of Joel Baldwin, late American minister to France, whom both he

buildings are very good, the residence is quite a palace, and is a complete model of a French mansion.

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Sunday, August 1st. Mrs. Barlow and myself took a long walk in the grove, and after being a little fatigued retreated into one of the bowers, where we conversed upon subjects which related to the official conduct of her husband until the hour of breakfast had passed without our being sensible of it, until we saw a messenger approach. They had searched everywhere, but where we were. This is very often the case in more important matters. General LaFayette arrived before dinner. I was gratified in seeing that the misfortunes which had befallen him had neither soured his temper nor impaired his constitution. I have never seen a man of his age look younger than he does; it is impossible for anyone to be more cheerful. He speaks of the United States with warmth. When speaking of the causes of complaint which the United States have against France he always says "We ought to receive indemnity for the spoliation the French have committed," as though he was wholly a citizen of the United States. He wishes to go to the United States during the war we are having against Great Britain, but he says he is confident the Emperor will not permit him to return. His son and his two daughters are married, and live with him, with their children. The lands which the United States has given him for his services have enabled him to remove encumbrances which were burdensome upon his estates. He is now easy in his circumstances.

Wednesday, 4th. Went with Mr. Erwing to look at several hotels, and fixed upon apartments in the hotel LaGrange Batelline, at 600 franc per month. The apartments consist of an anti-chamber, a dining room, a salon or hall, two bedrooms and a room for an office. All the houses except those of modern construction have their dining rooms situated so that you must pass through it to get into the salon, and through it into the bed rooms.

Friday. Moved to my new lodgings. Paid for four rooms at hotel at rate of 400 francs a month, but they were dark and uncomfortable, and without a garden.

Saturday, 7th. Engaged coach, horses and coachman at 500 francs per month.

Sunday, 8th. Mr. Church, grandson of General Schuyler, called to see me. He lives, it is said, by his wits, a common profession in Paris, and I suppose, other large cities. He is a well informed young man, and of very decent appearance. Mr. Van Rensselaer had called some days before. He is the son of the general of that name in New York. He appears to possess very moderate talents. He has been presented at court. When he returns to the country of his nativity it will have one more citizen within its bounds than it held whilst he was absent; its stock of knowledge and useful enterprise will not be sensibly increased. Received a letter from

the Duke of Bassano dated the 1st at Dresden; it is very civil.

Monday, 9th. Mr. Patterson, formerly consul of Nantz, called on me. He is a shrewd, sensible man, and appears to be a gentleman.

Tuesday, 10th. Mr. May, formerly of the house of Hill & May, of Savannah, called to see me. I thought I recollected him, notwithstanding I could not have seen him since the year 1789, as I left the state that year. He has failed financially two or three times, but is now, he tells me, in easy circumstances. He has the reputation of being a very honest man, and certainly his countenance is in harmony with his character.

Monday, 11th. Mr. Petre, secretary to the French legation in the United States, waited upon me. He was desirous of ascertaining whether the American government would have accepted the plan of indemnity proposed by Mr. Barlow; gave his opinion that it would not; says he told Mr. Barlow so at Milrig, where he first understood the nature of it. He left me precisely as wise as he was when he came in.

Tuesday, 12th. Received the papers and records of the legation this day. Was informed that Mrs. Barlow's passports had been received by Mr. McEvers, whose vessel she had to return in. This gentleman and Mr. Jones had called on me a few days after my arrival. He is a merchant of New York, of the house of Bayard-McEvers. He has the French manners, and is a man of very moderate capacity. Jones is a Bostonian, and has very much the appearance of an Englishman. His countenance is indicative of considerable mind. He left Paris some days ago for England.

Friday, 13th. Paid Captain Lewis' bill in favor of Captain Baker of 500 francs for supplies for the Argus.

Commenced the examination of the records of the legation. Mr. Barlow's secretary, Macardur, being a Frenchman, and what is still worse, writes a French hand, which is generally as illegible to me as the Egyptian hieroglyphics. I have not yet seen any trace of the treaty of indemnity.

Saturday, 14th. Continued to work at Macardur's French translations of the minister's letters; but with little effect. Have been much perplexed with applications from consuls for the settlement and payment of their accounts for money disbursed for distressed seamen. I shall not meddle with this subject until I have time to examine it fully. Mr. Warden presented his account for arrearages, contingences, postage and for distressed seamen, the latter making a very small part of the aggregate. I paid him his account with an understanding that if the state department objected to any items I should withhold it, in some subsequent payment. Among his items is a charge for presents to the servants of the Bureau of Foreigns, which had demanded of him as charge de affairs of the United States. He wished me also to pay his bill for coach hire, which he insisted was a just item against the government. This I declined, because he had incurred his expense

by placing himself in a situation which the government had not given him. The same objection applied to the presents, but as it was inconsiderable there could be no danger in paying it, as I could stop it when I pleased. He also wished me to say whether he ought to attend the Empress' levee the next day, being the birthday of the Emperor. I told him it was no concern of mine; he must do as he pleased. He wished me to take a ticket of invitation to Mr. Van Rensalaer, which I refused. He went to Mr. Jackson and left it with him, who supposed, as he had seen him talking to me, that he delivered it to him by my direction. Mr. Jackson sent it to Mr. Van Rensalaer before I knew he had received it.

Sunday, 15th. The day of St. Napoleon! How did he become a saint? I dare say he is not worse than many a saint who disgrace the Roman catalogue of saints martyrs. Mr. Jackson went with me to Mrs. Barlow's, from whence Mr. Baldwin and Mrs. Erwing accompanied us to the Seine, to see the jousts upon the river. They consisted simply in one man pushing another from the stern of the boat into the river, whilst he endeavored to do the same by his antagonist. The pole was about ten feet long, with a round, muffed end, to prevent injury to the ribs of the combatants. There were four boats—two opposed to two. When a fellow was pushed overboard he was disgraced, and not suffered to rejoin his companions on the boat. The victor resigned the pole to one of his comrades, who proceeded to measure his strength and skill with the man who presented himself in the adverse boat. The most ludicrous part of the matter is, that tomorrow prizes are to be distributed to the victors. By whom? By the institutions established for internal improvements—by the most respectable and venerable personages, clothed in their official robes, and surrounded by and bearing the emblems of imperial authority. Such is the greatness or the littleness of imperial majesty, that his hand must be seen, his power must be felt, even in the sports of the populace.

From thence we went into the Champ D'Elise, and unfortunately, Mrs. Baldwin and myself got separated from Messrs. Jackson and Erwing, and became very much fatigued in searching for them. The search and fatigue was mutual. * * *

*Champ
Elise*

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After dinner I went to see the fireworks, or feu d'artifice, as the French term. It was to commence at 9 o'clock, but her majesty must first show herself to receive the plaudits of her loving subjects. This she did not do until ten. I stood all the time in a situation to see the fireworks to advantage. Her majesty and the feu d'artifice could not be seen well from the same place. I choose rather to see the fireworks. They were grand beyond anything I had seen. There was some little danger, as a considerable body of fire fell very near me. I was so much fatigued by standing I at once determined to return to my lodgings without the show. On approaching the gate of the garden of the Tuilleries I found myself wedged in by the multitude so that I became a component part of a body of several thousand, and moved only as com-

pelled by this mass. In this situation I moved about 100 feet in constant danger of injury, though in much less than nine-tenths of those by whom I was borne along. Many shoes were lost; many were the screams that proceeded from my friends and companions in distress. Exclamation followed exclamation, but as I did not understand them, and cared little for the individuals of which the mass was composed, I attended to my situation and came off with only a few kicks upon my shins, which produced no serious injury. I succeeded in finding my way home about 11 o'clock, and went straight to bed, where, without making many sage reflections upon the wisdom of this institution or the fitness of the ceremonies for the celebrated fete, I fell asleep.

Sunday 22nd. Visited the chamber of the Conservative Senate in company with Mrs. Baldwin, Mrs. Barlow and Mr. Erwing, conducted by Count Barbe Marbois, who is one of that body. The hall is much smaller than that of the Senate chamber of the United States, although the body is much larger. The decorations are very elegant indeed. The imperial chair is loaded with ornaments, and surrounded by the statues of men much more entitled to the name of Senator than those who enjoy seats in that body.

Tuesday, 24th. Read several chapters in Burlemaque on the law of Nature and of Nations. He is a sensible, well informed writer.

Wednesday, 25th. Visited with Mrs. Ewing and Mrs. Jackson the gallery of statues and that of painting.

This latter communicates directly with the lodgings of the Emperor in the palace of the Tuilleries. This end of it is fitted with the choicest works of the most celebrated artists, principally brought from Italy. It is impossible to pass through this gallery without the highest species of gratification. The only drawback which I experienced was the continual occurrence of the crucifixion in such strong and glowing colors as to make strong and painful impressions. A picture of this character presented to the eyes of one of our audiences, whose imaginations were alarmed and heated with the declamatory and glowing effusions of some of our spiritual teachers, could not fail to produce an irresistible effect.

From this gallery we proceeded to that of painting, where are collected the finest specimens of the most celebrated artists of ancient and modern times. The celebrated Venus de Medici and Apollo Belvidere are the admiration of every connoisseur and amateur of art. They are certainly beautiful statues. The form and polish and the marble of which they are formed are all the most perfect of their kind. I am, however, neither a connoisseur nor amateur. My sensations were not glowing while I traversed this gallery.

Thursday, 26th. Visited the garden of the Luxemburg, which is an appendage to the palace of the Conservative Senate, and beautifully arranged and laid out. There is here a fountain in which there are a number of gold and silver fish and a pair of swans. The same things are found in the

garden of the Tuilleries. Throughout both gardens you find a great number of naked statues. I am not pleased with those nudities. If I had supreme legislation of the United States I would prohibit the importation, and even manufacture of naked people in marble, plaster and paper.

Saturday, 28th. Visited with Mr. Jackson the garden of plants, but we were driven out of it by the rain, which fell shortly after we entered it. At night I accompanied Mr. Erwing to the theatre Ambega. The acting was good, but I understood but little of the play.

Sunday, 29th. Visited ^{Mrs.} Barlow, who sets out tomorrow for Rochelle to embark for the United States in the Erie. Mrs. Baldwin has promised to take one letter for Mrs. Crawford and one for the Secretary of State. I proposed to take Mrs. Barlow in my carriage as far as Versailles in the morning. Mrs. Baldwin and Mr. Erwing went that far this evening to see everything worth observing before she left France.

Monday, 30th. The morning was fine. I told Mrs. Barlow it was ominous of a prosperous voyage, as it was almost the only good day I have seen in France. I found her with Madame Villette, Mr. Parker, General LaFayette and one or two other friends, and all the domestics which this good lady had employed during her late residence. Every person was much affected, particularly the domestics who had experienced her bounty, which they were to lose forever, except one old woman upon whom she had settled a pension.

There is no meeting nor taking leave in France among those who are called friends without a kiss upon each cheek. It is excessively awkward to see men kissing each other. She finally tore herself away, and I conducted her to the carriage. She was melancholy and silent for sometime, but as we proceeded she became more composed, and conversed freely and with much good sense upon various subjects until we reached Versailles, where we found Mrs. Baldwin and Mr. Erwing. About one o'clock we bade them adieu. Mr. Erwing and young Mr. Mason returned with me to Paris. I found Count Marbois at my lodging, who came to tell me that he had applied to the Minister of Commerce to direct that Mrs. Barlow's baggage should not be examined by the custom house officers, and that the necessary orders had been sent in to the port. This was an act of kindness and friendship which saved her much vexation. At her house this morning I met also Mr. Dupont Nemouro, an old, respectable man, who has made a figure in the republic of letters, as well as in the French republic. Nature has done more for him than any Frenchman I have ever seen. His countenance is indicative of talents, sincerity and benevolence. He told me to inform General Mason that he would be a father to his son; that he had dined with Mrs. Barlow every Sunday; that from this time he should dine with him on that day. He is the only Frenchman that I can understand when he speaks French. *

* Marshal Ney seemed much attached to Crawford and often visited his hotel, but never spoke a word of English while in his presence, although Crawford could not speak French. The conversations were conducted through Dr. Jackson, the Secretary of Legation.—Southern Literary Messenger, January 1847.

Saturday, 4th. Mr. Williams, the nephew of Colonel Pickering, called on me. He appears to be a man of good sense and moderate principles. Indeed, all the Americans I have seen here appear to be on the side of their country in the present contest, although most of them are Federalists. They rejoice in our victories and are grieved at our defeats. This day the report of the capture of the Argus and the death of Captain Allen reached Paris. I do not believe it. Sent my dispatches to Rochelle with some presents to my family.

Monday, 6th. Weather fair, and cold enough for frost. Determined this day to commence the discussion of the claims of indemnity.

Tuesday, 7th. Worked all day on my official note, except the time taken up in the calls of American gentlemen and other gentlemen, which was the greater part of the day. They appear to think it their duty to present themselves once or twice a week at the minister's house. I shall have to be from home until two o'clock, notwithstanding my hatred of form and ceremony. I must have a little time which I can call my own. We breakfast at nine. My French lesson takes up one hour, and this leaves me only time to read the foreign news in the French paper before breakfast.

Wednesday, 8th. Wrote to Secretary of State by Mr. Baldwin, who intends setting out tomorrow for Rochelle, with a hope of embarking on board the Erie with Mrs. Baldwin. I hardly expect he will arrive in time.

Thursday, 16th. Wrote official note and sent it to the bureau of foreign affairs. Warden and Lee continue to pester me with their disputes. The former has been wrong in every one of them. He is ignorant and arrogant, full of duplicity, obsequious to his superiors and insolent to his inferiors. With a most diffident countenance, with an affectation of devotion to service, he has imposed himself upon the American Government and upon some well-informed persons here, over whom he has had so much influence as to induce them to meddle with the displeasure of the government expressed against him. If I know him rightly, and I believe I do, he acts always by indirect means. He never marches directly up to an object, even if it will answer his purpose as well. If he possesses any talent it is that of expressing himself with uniform ambiguity, at least in his writings. He is extremely happy in introducing indirect attacks and insinuations, wholly unconnected with the subject of discussion, and affects to check himself from an indisposition to do an injury, leaving an impression that had he told all his enemy would be confounded. His memory is not sufficiently retentive to secure him against the most palpable contradictions. His resentments govern him in the most despotic manner. This evening I received a note from him, informing me that he had been invited by the grand master of ceremonies to attend the diplomatic audience of the Emperor, and that the Duchess of Montebello had invited him to dine with her on the same day, and desiring me to say whether I wished him to go, as he was extremely desirous to conform his conduct to my wishes.

As I had upon a previous occasion answered verbally an application of this nature, I felt a little out of temper, and immediately wrote him the following answer:

"Sir: Your note of this date has been handed me this moment. It is impossible that I should have any wish upon the subjects which it embraces. You know the relation in which you stand toward this Government; and you also know it is no concern of mine where you go, or with whom you dine."

I have received a letter from Mr. Lee, in which he informs me that the affair of the Maria is settled by his yielding a point which in judgment he ought not to have acceded. This proves that my opinion was correct in relation to the application to the Duke of Bassano.

The affair is now settled; I wish to hear no more of it, and trust nothing of the kind will occur in the future, etc. His conduct in this affair had been excessively vexatious. He had been guilty of prevarication and, indeed, manifest falsehood. Whilst he verbally and in writing expressed a strong desire to extricate himself from this dispute when I had decided the matter, and placed him in a situation to prove his sincerity, instead of acting openly and sincerely to put an end to the matter, he wrote to the Duke of Bassano, who was at Dresden, intending, through his influence, to evade the force and effect of my decision. Three days before I told him in the plainest terms that he had prevaricated; had stated what he knew to be untrue, and that my opinion of him was wholly changed.

Friday, 19th. I have finished "Voltaire's Man of Forty Crowns," and have commenced with his question upon the Encyclopedia. My teacher is, I believe, an Atheist; this accounts for the books which he wishes me to read. He is an adherent of the Bourbon dynasty. He will not believe that General Moreau is killed. He says the Emperor is afraid of him, and dreads his influence in the French armies; that all the accounts of his death are the result of this dread. This old man is not very singular in this respect. Of the thousands in this city who hate the Emperor, and who take no pains to conceal it, almost all of them believe Moreau to be living.

On Friday last Mr. Warden inclosed me two tickets of invitation from the Grand Master of Ceremonies, for Mr. Van Rensselaer and Mr. Carroll to attend the court to the Te Deum. I directed Mr. Jackson to inclose them in a blank cover to him again. I chose this course in preference to abusing him, which I should have done if I had written to him.

24th. Went this day to Mr. Parker's to meet General LaFayette and his son, George Washington LaFayette. Rode around Mr. Parker's estate, which contains about 1,200 acres, and fronts the river between two and three miles. This is the first time I have been on horseback since I left my residence in Georgia.

Mr. Parker cultivated a species of rye, which is very large, and is almost as white as wheat standing in the field. You would pronounce it to be rye, but after it is threshed it

looks more like wheat. He also cultivates a species of barley which is free from external skin and chaff. The grain is larger than ours, and very white. I shall endeavor to transplant these two grains into the United States.

Saturday, 25th. This day General LaFayette and son joined us. The son speaks English very well. He is sensible, well-informed and gallant. He served during the time the battles of Jena-Friedland were fought; also in the last Austrian war. He was in the battle of Estriny, where he saved the life of his general, mounted him on his own horse, and extricated himself from the perilous situation in which he was left by this act of gallantry. His name was several times presented by the officers to the Emperor for promotion, but he had always passed him over. Seeing that it was impossible to rise in opposition to the Emperor's will, he resigned his commission and returned to his father's seat, and married the daughter of one of the ancient nobility of France.

Sunday, 26th. This morning a French gentleman of the name of Lastery and General O'Connor came out to breakfast at Dravel. Mr. Lastery has written the history of the culture of cotton without having seen it grow. All their attempts have failed in France. In Naples they have succeeded, but the plant does not grow higher than twelve inches, according to the best information I have been able to collect. General O'Connor, although on pay of the Emperor, is violently opposed to him, and speaks in the strongest terms of his ambition, madness and folly. He and General LaFayette are of opinion that he is retreating from Dresden, and that he will find great difficulty in effecting it. They say that his obstancy has kept him there already too long, and if he does not make his retreat very soon the disasters of the last campaign will again befall the French armies.

November 1st. Mr. Temple Bowdoin waited on me this day with letters of introduction from Messrs. Floyd and Brown. He is a son of Sir John Temple, and nephew of Mr. Bowdoin, late minister to Spain, who has given him a considerable estate in Massachusetts, on condition of his taking his name. He is a fine, gentlemanly looking man, and if his physiognomy is not very deceptive, a profoundly good-natured man. All the Americans here except two or three are Federalists. But they are all for the United States in the present war. This, I presume, is the effect of their absence from their country, and the consequent independence of party, which is denied to those who are actively interested in the ranks of factious demagogues who do not suffer them to exercise the faculty of reason with which they are endowed. Quincey's canting, hypocritical resolutions, which ought to damn him in this world and that which is to come, have damned him with these gentlemen, but they will be afraid to say so when they return to Boston.

Nov. 9th. At 5 o'clock this evening the firing of cannon announced the return of the Emperor to Paris.

10th. The feuds rose this day. The mass of discontents in Paris would alarm a man less intrepid than the Emperor.

The liberty of speech enjoyed here is but little inferior to that of the United States. I expect some of our American gentry will break into prison some of these days on account of the licentiousness of their declarations. Confinement will teach them the necessity of prudence. Their government affords them a more perfect protection than any other in the world. They at least have no cause of complaint against it, and cannot complain with justice if they suffer for their licentiousness.

11th. This day I received a note from the Duke of Bassano, informing me of his return to Paris, and of his desire to enjoy the pleasure of communications with me on subjects of interest to the two nations. Answered his letter, and requested an interview with him.

13th. Received his answer, fixing 3 p. m. for the interview. Waited on him at that hour, and arranged with him the time and manner of my being presented to the Emperor. Sunday, the next day, was determined on. It was necessary immediately to visit the Arch Chancellor, who was to present me. It was a mere visit of form. Our address must also be sent to the Grand Master of Ceremonies, who alone could instruct me in the forms to be observed on presentment. The Arch Chancellor was from home.

The Duke of Bassano is, I presume, between 50 and 60 years of age. From his countenance and form I should have taken him to be a German rather than a Frenchman. His height is rather above that of ordinary Frenchmen, and his bulk greatly beyond it. His legs are very large and badly formed. His countenance is indicative of plain, good sense, and of good nature and sincerity. There is nothing brilliant or imposing about him.

Sunday, 14th. At half past 11 o'clock the Master of Ceremonies announced that the Emperor was ready to receive me. I was attended by him and Mr. De Carbre, who was to be my interpreter. I have forgotten to state that the Duke of Bassano had shown some solicitude that I should make a speech to the Emperor on presenting my letter of credence. I had previously determined not to make a speech. I yielded the point, and promised to furnish the Emperor with a copy of my speech. We advanced through three apartments filled with military men and people in court dresses. In each we had to stop until another master of ceremonies should come to us.

The Emperor was standing in the middle of his cabinet, dressed in the richest uniform, with his hat decorated with white plumes, in his left hand. He was surrounded by the great officers of state, among whom I distinguished only the Arch Chancellor and the Duke of Bassano. On approaching the Emperor, after having made my three bows, as in duty bound, I was presented by the Arch Chancellor, and delivered my letter of credence to him, which he delivered to the minister of Foreign Legations. I then made my speech, which Mr. De Carbre, who had a translation, read to the Emperor.*

*It is a matter of regret that Crawford's Diary breaks off at this most interesting point, and was never resumed by him.

CHAPTER XI.

AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF ST. CLOUD.

It was said of Crawford that when he once made a friend that he had in him an estate for life. He was keenly appreciative of merit and was unwavering in his attachments. The love which he bestowed upon others was generally reciprocated. He believed the way to have good friends was to be one himself. While a minister at the Tuilleries he still kept in close touch with friends at home. The following letter in this connection may be read with interest:

CRAWFORD TO SECRETARY OF NAVY U. S.

PARIS, 2nd Sept., 1813.

Dear Sir:

I arrived at L'Orient on 11th of July and landed on 12th. The voyage was not very pleasant, but everything in the power of Captain Allen to make it so was done. The only circumstance calculated to alleviate the unpleasant sensations of a voyage at sea, attended throughout with seasickness, was the acquaintance which it produced, with this most accomplished officer and gentlemanly man. I shall remember with great pleasure the hours I have spent with him on board the *Argus*. The exact discipline which he preserved, the silence and order which attended the execution of every service during the voyage, and the perfect self-command which was exhibited in his every action proves most incontestibly that he possesses in a high degree all the talent and professional skill which is necessary to achieve great and splendid actions. Whatever future awaits him, be it prosperous or adverse, he carries with him my esteem, and my firmest conviction that he well deserves success, and that the flag of the Republic will never be tarnished under his command. I shall always feel a deep interest in every event in which his welfare or his fame shall be involved. The officers of the *Argus* were distinguished throughout the voyage by the promptitude and skill with which they executed the orders of their superior—by the order and decorum of their conduct, and by the general suavity of manners which accompanied all their actions. Permit me to recommend the commander and all of his lieutenants to your particular favor. Two of his midshipmen are from the neighborhood of Washington. I understand they are poor and friendless. Captain Allen is highly pleased with them. Speaking, or rather writing of these midshipmen, brings to mind a promise I made a friend of mine in Georgia, and which I am sure has not been neglected. Wm. Pollard, the grandson of Wm. Pollard, formerly of Philadelphia, is

extremely desirous of entering the naval service as a midshipman. My friend represents him as young, ardent, intelligent, active and patriotic, every way qualified to succeed in the naval service. Colonel Troup can give you more particular information, and to him I beg to refer you. Upon the arrival of the *Argus* in L'Orient some supplies were necessary beyond the funds of the purser. I had no authority to draw money from the bankers of the United States for the navy. What was to be done? The supplies were necessary—they could not be obtained but on my becoming paymaster. This I have done by paying Mr. Dennison's bill for five thousand francs, on 13th ultimo. I have mentioned this circumstance to Mr. Monroe, that there may be an understanding upon the question. I wish to have as little to do with money matters as possible, but at the same time I am not disposed to see the public service suffer on account of a little responsibility.

The war recommenced on the 16th ult.* Several battles have been fought, but we have no details.

I beg to be remembered to Mrs. Jones in the most friendly manner.

I am, dear sir, most sincerely yours, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Honorable Wm. Jones, Secretary of Navy.

—o—

France, with her people, was beginning to realize that the affairs of her great Emperor were no longer in the ascendancy; but that the proud banner of the old guard at last was beginning to droop before the armies of the allied powers. The patience of the American Minister, never at any time too great, was now the subject of sorest trial. He had been in Paris some six months when, on January 14th, 1814, he had his fruitless interview with the Duke of Bassano, who masqueraded under the title of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Napoleon had made all France a great military camp. The conscripts down to the boys of sixteen had answered his call; to the drum beat of the nation they unfalteringly and bravely marched without thought of heavy taxes and empty treasury, and still fought on—hopeful, trusting and patient. There was practically no Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. The government of the Empire was all centered in their Emperor, and that Emperor at this time had weighty matters of more immediate concern than any that could be presented by any foreign diplomat. Indemnities and spoiliations were nothing compared with the shadow that was athwart his path. Disaster and defeat that never before faced his army were rapidly combining to hurry the fatal event. His whole

* After an armistice during which several battles were fought to no avail.

mind was with his army then at Dresden, and entirely absorbed with events fast transpiring there. His constant cry was for more soldiers. On January 8th, 1814, a large placard was posted on the town hall calling for additional levies. Women, with haggard looks, read it, and remembering the bones of their husbands and sons already bleaching on German soil, brushed away their tears as they read the call for one hundred and fifty thousand conscripts of 1813, then one hundred thousand cohorts of 1812, who fancied they had escaped; then one hundred thousand of 1809 to 1812, and so on to the end. The army must be recruited to where it was before the disastrous Russian Expedition. These mothers could but say: "So the cold came and our army perished. And now those who are leaving us are as already dead."

On the charge preferred by the Federalists that the United States was subservient to the French nation in their dealings with England the following letter was written by

CRAWFORD TO SYLVANUS BOURNE.

PARIS, 5th Nov., 1813.

Sir:

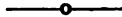
Your letter of the 17th ult. has come safely to hand. If any application has been made to the Government of the United States by the holders of the St. Domingo bills it has not come to my knowledge, or has been forgotten. My instructions do not allude to them. It is possible that such an application may have been made several years ago, and that some one of my predecessors may have been instructed on this point. The exertions of the Federal party in the United States to produce an impression upon the nation that their present rulers are subservient to the views of the French Government have had too much success both within and without the United States. These exertions are the more reprehensible as the party itself does not believe the fact. I believe some of the most gloomy and sombre imaginations among them may at particular moments feel some such impression; but the great mass of Federalists are perfectly convinced of the falsehood of the charge. If we were not engaged in a struggle for the enjoyment of rights which belong almost exclusively to the section of the Union in which Federalism prevails, our astonishment would not be so highly excited as it has been, at the unblushing effrontery with which this charge has been reiterated in the eastern states. They are deceiving themselves and the nation. Whatever rights we abandon at the conclusion of this war will never be regained, at least, not in our days. The loss, the injury, will fall where it ought to fall—upon the shipping interest. In the middle, and especially in the southern states, there is no possible point of collision with Great Britain. We have not shipping for ourselves, and of course do not interfere with their exertions to monop-

lize the trade of the world. We only wish our heavy raw materials carried to the best market, and the merchandise we want in return brought to us. Great Britain is that market, and she supplies us with merchandise, which from judgment or prejudice, we prefer. Unconnected with the eastern states, we should never have had any contest with England. If, however, we should succeed in the establishment of our just rights we shall rejoice to see our eastern brethren reap the exclusive benefits of the war. Nothing selfish or contracted could have pushed the southern and western people into this war. The eastern people instigated the Government to take measures which have led to the present war, and as soon as the attitude was taken they arrayed themselves on the other side. I am sorry that this impression has been made in Europe. Nothing can be more false. Our political course is a clear one. We can feel no interest in the wars of the old world, only as they affect our rights of neutrality. The empires of the east and of the west, and the intermediate states, together with our oppressive mother country, are alike indifferent to us. In other words, we feel no partiality or prejudice towards any of them. Whatever sentiment of partiality or friendship is felt can be traced distinctly to the conduct of the nation for whom it is manifested. At present Russia has given us no cause for complaint. We are therefore friendly with Russia.

I am, sir, most respectfully your most obedient and very
humble servant, W. H. CRAWFORD.

Sylvanus Bourne, Esq.,

American Consul at Amsterdam.



John Quincy Adams at this time was Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. That country now friendly to America, had, through Emperor Alexander, offered to mediate between Great Britain and the United States. The American Government gladly accepted this offer, and appointed Messrs. Galatin and Bayard in connection with Mr. Adams to take charge of the negotiations.

England refused to treat with the United States under Russian mediation, but finally agreed to treat direct at Ghent, in Belgium, and Messrs. Adams, Galatin, Bayard, Clay and Russell were named by the American Government, and Lord Gambier, Henry Goulhan and William Adams on the part of the British. During the six months of this negotiation interesting letters passed between Crawford and Clay. * Space does not admit of our producing more than one from each.

*See Colton's Private Correspondence of Henry Clay for letters of Crawford.

CRAWFORD TO CLAY.

PARIS, June 10, 1814.

My Dear Sir:

Mr. Carroll arrived a few days ago, and brought me your letters of the 10th and 14th ult. The change in the place (from Gottenburg, in Sweden, to Ghent, in Belgium) of the negotiation for peace will enable me to write you frequently, and will afford me the pleasure of receiving from you the most interesting details upon the advances which you shall make from day to day in the work of peace. My expectations of a happy result are not strong. The arrogance of the enemy was never greater than at the present moment. The infatuation of that nation excludes almost the possibility of peace. The ministry is represented as being very temperate and moderate. In my former communications I have stated the reasons which I have for doubting the sincerity of their professions of moderation. I may have been wrong in my inferences. I wish that the result may correct me of this error. Admitting the possibility that the British ministers will consent to make peace, without deciding anything upon the question of impressment, will your instructions justify you in accepting it? So far as I am acquainted with the nature of those instructions, their letter will not. But those instructions were given at a time when the great changes which have intervened in Europe were not only unknown, but wholly unexpected. What will be the effect which these changes will produce upon the determination of the Government? Will the Government, after they are informed of these changes, give directions to conclude peace, leaving the question of impressment open to further negotiation? Will it consent to a peace which shall make no mention of this question? I presume it will. If the negotiators shall be of this opinion, ought they hesitate to accept, in the most prompt manner of a peace which they are convinced the Government will instruct them to make so soon as it is informed of the actual state of things? I should answer, promptly, no. A peace which omits the question of impressment entirely will leave the American Government at perfect liberty to apply the proper remedy whenever the evil shall be felt. I do not believe that you will be placed in a situation to determine this question. I believe they will insist upon the unqualified admission of their right to impress on board American vessels at sea. This, I trust, will never be conceded. It would be better to return to our colonial relations with our mother country than submit to this condition.

As there is but a faint glimmering of hope that the negotiation will terminate in peace, the next important point to be obtained is that it shall break off upon principles which will convince the American people, of all parties, that peace can be only obtained by the most vigorous prosecution of war. I have the most unlimited confidence in the skill and address of our negotiators. I am perfectly satisfied that the negotiation will be conducted with a view to affect this important point. I have seen and conversed with several Englishmen in Paris upon the question of impressment, and find the most of

them very ignorant and arrogant. Sir Thomas Baring is an exception to this remark. But his mode of adjusting the question is wholly inadmissible. He proposes that no impressment shall be made in vessels engaged in the coasting trade; that no impressment shall take place in vessels engaged in the foreign trade in sight of the American coast. He thinks the ministry will hardly go so far. A merchant of the name of Wilson says that an arrangement of a different nature would be satisfactory to the nation. It is this: that when a British officer shall visit an American vessel and designate any one of the crew as a British subject, and he should admit the fact, that the master or captain of the American vessel should deliver him up; if the man should deny that he is an Englishman, and the captain should refuse to deliver him up, that the visiting officer should endorse the ship's papers with the name of the sailor, and with his allegation. The question of nationality shall be inquired into at the first port at which the vessel shall touch where there is a British consul; if found against the sailor the captain shall pay a fine, or the expense of the investigation, and the sailor shall be delivered up; if for him, the British consul, or if in England the British Government should be subject to the same payment.

He says that in the case of an admitted British subject, if the American captain should declare that the loss of the man would endanger the vessel, that he should be kept on board until the vessel entered the port of destination, when the captain should be bound to deliver him over to the British consul, or officer authorized to receive him.

I see no objections to this plan, except that the captain should not be permitted to deliver any man who denies the charge until it is established against him. This arrangement will give the enemy the absolute control over their own seamen, as far as the fact of nationality can be established. It at the same time screens American sailors from arbitrary impressment. If the vessel should be bound to the ports of a nation at war with England, it might be made the duty of the American consul at such port to ship him on board an American vessel bound to England, to the United States or to a neutral port, where the fact should be promptly settled. I do not believe that this arrangement will be acceptable to the Government of England, because I do not believe they will be satisfied with any arrangement which will prevent their seizing upon the sailors of other nations. If I am correct in my conjecture, the proposition will embarrass them, and the rejection will prove to the most prejudiced mind that they are determined to make the American sailors fight the battles which are to rivet the chains of slavery which they have been forging for all maritime states, and especially for the seafaring men of those states, for a century past. I have thought that this arrangement ought to be suggested to you, because it may not have occurred to anyone of our ministers. I think it highly improbable that the English negotiators will make any proposition of this nature. If their pretensions shall be so moderate as to afford rational ground of discussion, this arrangement may be proposed with advantage.

If their views are so unreasonable as to exclude discussion, that of itself will have the happy effect of convincing all parties that the peace must be obtained by the sword alone. But even in this case, when the rejection of the arrangement will be certain, I am inclined to believe that the proposition, coming from the American ministers, will have a tendency to elucidate the extent of the concessions which they demand upon this point, more satisfactory than any other mode which has been presented to my mind. Mr. Wilson is a true John Bull; but, I believe, a very honest man, and I am sure sincerely desirous of peace. The rejection of the arrangement will probably have some effect upon the English nation itself. If this principle will be satisfactory to Mr. Wilson, it is probable that it will be acceptable to many others—in fact to all reasonable men—to all men who have not found the foolish and extravagant idea of recolonizing the United States.

I have felt that it was my duty to present this subject to you in its fullest extent. I have verbally communicated it to Mr. Bayard. It is probable that Mr. Wilson may have communicated this idea to Mr. Gallatin, as he made his acquaintance, and that of Mr. Bayard's also, in London. He had not suggested it to the latter.

I will obtain the necessary passports for you and send them on to Ghent, as the *Moniteur* of yesterday has notified that it is necessary to have them to leave the kingdom. I suppose it is equally necessary to enter it.

From the letters which I have written to you, you will perceive that some of my inferences have been proved, by subsequent events, to be incorrect. I reasoned from the facts as they were presented to my mind; and I feel no mortification at the result. If it was my duty to communicate everything to you which I knew or believed at the moment of writing, I do not feel any mortification that some of my conjectures, some of my inferences, have proved to be incorrect.

I have authority to draw on the bankers of the United States for diplomatic intercourse and for the disbursement of distressed seamen. Under the first head I can satisfy Mr. Carroll's expenses, and should do it with great pleasure on his own account, as well as upon your request. I am well acquainted with his father, and entertain the highest esteem for him.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Bayard, who I am happy to inform you, coincides with me in every question relative to the peace. He believes, with me, if the nation can be united in the prosecution of the war, that the interest of the United States will be promoted by the failure of the negotiations. He will heartily unite with you in bringing the discussions to a close that will secure this great object. I think from the English papers, that no armistice has been agreed upon. I rejoice that it has failed. It might have done us much injury, but could not possibly do us any good.

God bless you, my dear sir, and bless your labors and make them useful to your country. Mine, I believe, are like water spilled on the ground, that can never be gathered. Adieu.

W. H. CRAWFORD.

To Henry Clay, Esq.

CLAY TO CRAWFORD.

GHENT, 22d August, 1814.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter by Mr. Todd apprising me of what I had before only feared, that my letters to you transmitted by the mail, have been intercepted. I had written you two, but the latter and the more important one was altogether in cipher, so that the robbers will make but little of their booty. I regret the larceny, however, on your account and my own. In yours because you have been so long kept out of information, which you have been, no doubt, exceedingly anxious to possess; and on mine because I had asked what I should like much to have received, and what would be now too late for any practical effect—your opinion upon some important topics. I should not have ventured to commit my letters to so treacherous a medium, but that no other conveyance offered or as far as I knew was likely to offer.

To repair as much as possible the loss, I now have the pleasure of enclosing to you a copy of a private journal I have kept at our conferences with the British commissioners. From its perusal you will see that the prospect of peace has disappeared, and that nothing remains for us but to formally close the abortive negotiations. The regret you will feel for the continuance of the war will be mitigated, however, by the evidence you will have, that this unhappy issue is attributable solely to the extravagant demands of the enemy; and by the consoling reflection that these demands, affecting as they do every section and every interest in the Union, must arouse, if anything can arouse, all parties into a vigorous resistance.

My journal is so full that I will not accompany it now with any illustrative details. These I will supply when I have the pleasure to see you at Paris. I will, however, add, that we are preparing, and will probably deliver tomorrow, our answer to their paper, and if anything turns up before I seal this letter (which I do not expect to send until tomorrow or next day) worthy of your knowledge it shall be communicated.

You will also derive much satisfaction from seeing that as the enemy will not make peace, all the old grounds of difference and impressment of course among them, are put altogether in the background. Our late instructions authorized us to pass this subject over in silence.

I ought, perhaps, to mention to you that throughout the whole of the negotiations I have been inclined to think that the other party has been practicing upon our supposed fears, and that he would ultimately abandon his pretensions. In this impression (I will not call it opinion) what I do not yet absolutely abandon, I stand alone. If it be well founded when our paper is received and it is known that we will not refer to our government for further instructions, he may possibly yet pause.

We have sent off Mr. Dallas with the dispatches for our Government, which include the note of the British commissioners. The John Adams will sail the 25th inst., and I hope

will reach America in time for the President to lay the subject, or such part of it as he may think proper, before Congress.

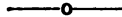
We propose to sail for Cherbourg, Brest or L'Orient, and ordering the Neptune to one of those ports, and the period we have talked of is first of October.

Whatever of the intervening period of time I can command after the cessation of our labors here I shall spend with you in Paris.

Your kind offer to recommend me to the Government for the place which you now fill will be forever remembered by me with the sincerest gratitude. As I hope soon to see you, I will then inform you of my views on that subject, and will at the same time arrange the affair of Mr. Carroll's expenses. Your friend, etc..

H. CLAY.

Wm. H. Crawford, Esq.*



On Christmas eve of 1814 when the news reached Paris that the negotiations at Ghent had resulted in a declaration of peace between America and Britain the theatres resounded with the joyful cry of "God save the Americans."

The retreat of Napoleon from Germany in November, 1813, gave him only a few weeks in Paris. He was in a distrustful, solemn mood; yet he received Crawford with the very highest degree of consideration and with marked courtesy. However, Crawford's overtures were postponed; Napoleon once more organized his army, and Mr. Crawford never saw him again. Beaten at all points the great Emperor saw Louis XVIII restored to the throne of his ancestors, while he was dispatched to be king of the small island of Elba.

In less than a year Napoleon had escaped from Elba and again rode triumphantly into Paris. The memorable hundred days followed in which the thundering artillery of twenty nations were pointed against his throne. Negotiations and treaties were not to be thought of during this continual turmoil and repeated changes of government. This instability impeded all diplomatic business. It was evident that nothing could be accomplished during these political tergiversations and rapid revolutions as the Napoleonic dynasty appeared fast crumbling away.

In reply to the letters to his government setting out these conditions the following letter was received by him:

"This letter copied from the original now in possession of W. H. C. Wheatley, a great grandson of Crawford,

JAMES MONROE TO W. H. CRAWFORD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 25, 1814.

Sir:

I had the honor to receive your several letters of the 11th, 12th and 20th of April, the first and last of which were marked private, by the Oliver, on the 12th instant. It appears that the late Emperor had been deposed, and had abdicated the crowns of France and Italy, and been sent to the island of Elba; that the Senate had digested a plan of government, by which Louis was declared king of France; that the Count d'Artois had favored this plan, and that Louis was daily expected at Paris to take the executive authority into his hands. It appears, also, that the allied armies were still in Paris, and would probably remain there until a treaty of peace was concluded with the new government, and the king regularly recognized and established.

These events, with any others detailed in your letters, are of the highest degree of importance to this country, as well as to Europe. It is difficult to trace their consequence, either with respect to France or any of the powers who were engaged in the war against her. Equally difficult is it to foresee what effect they may have in all their bearings on the United States.

It is satisfactory to find, in regard to France herself, that the provisional government towards the United States indicates no change of an unfavorable nature. Its deportment towards you, and communications through M. Serrurier, breathe a spirit of amity, the sincerity of which there is no reason to doubt. It is even probable that our relations with France may be improved by this event. The views of the present sovereign will be more moderate than those of his predecessor. There is, therefore, less reason to apprehend from him unfriendly acts. And as France must assume an attitude less imposing than she has done of late, and may even experience injuries from other powers, especially from Great Britain, it is presumable it would be her interest to cultivate, in a particular manner, the friendship of the United States. Should this disposition exist the opportunity may be favorable, and you will of course take advantage of it to obtain from the present government a redress of wrongs received from the preceding one, for which, on first principles, the nation is answerable, and to which the new constitution appears to have given a sanction.

After the peace in Europe Great Britain will have at command a greater force than heretofore, to be employed against the United States should no circumstance interfere to prevent it. The state of France herself will probably attract her attention, and suggest reasons against such a disposition of her forces. The situation of Spain may not be less interesting, and have equal claims to attention. Italy and Holland may be unsettled. These considerations may make it hazardous in the British Government to place a considerable force at so great a distance from it, and repugnant to the interests of all other nations, especially in an enterprise with so little prospect of success.

In estimating the obstacles to British annoyance, the disposition of the Emperor of Russia, and of the Baltic powers generally, is a circumstance of peculiar importance. On the interposition of the Emperor, as well from the general policy of Russia, as from the offer of his friendly mediation, to restrain England from unjust demands, much reliance is placed. Your attention will naturally be drawn to all these circumstances, and it will be very gratifying and useful to receive the result of your enquiries and reflections on them.

I have the honor to be, with great consideration, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JAS. MONROE.

In August, 1815, Crawford resigned his embassy and sailed for America. His official notes evinced the clear understanding of the questions at issue, and the rights of his country were set forth with such grasp of facts and confident boldness, that they were in after years used as a basis of a satisfactory settlement, and secured that indemnity justly due to our government.

Among the most pleasing incidents connected with his stay in Paris was the fast friendship formed between him and the Marquis De LaFayette. In closest confidence and unsuspecting freedom LaFayette discussed with him the politics of France. Their correspondence now preserved shows that they used with each other terms of affectionate endearment.

Another notable friendship of Crawford was with the most distinguished woman in France—daughter of the famous financier, Necker—whose wife was Susan Curchard, of whom Edward Gibbon was so enamoured during his residence in Switzerland. The wonderful, matchless Madame De Stael—the wittiest woman of her time, an influence feared by Napoleon and courted by the savants of a brilliant court—never concealed her admiration for Crawford's ability, and delighted in his ingenuous conversation and southern charm of manner. The vivid and genial impress of mind upon mind betrayed a quality of class between the Georgian type of gentleman and the accomplished woman of the salon; it was Cultures imprimatur upon Originality. The propinquity of master minds only added to Crawford's distinction; social and intimate association heightened rather than diminished the impression of his commanding personality.

Mr. Eugene Valle, his private secretary, has left on record the following brief sketch, which gives, as no one else could, an account of his life in Paris:

"William H. Crawford was a man approaching, as near as can be, the 'noblest work of God,' as defined by the immortal Pope. He could bear scrutinizing in every sense. Take his heart, or take his mind, you would meet in each enough to satisfy the most fastidious. Destined to be a statesman, he possessed that firmness of purpose which may be termed civil courage. Had he been a soldier he would have been brave to audacity. To this many circumstances but little known, except by those in habit of a close intimacy with him, can testify.

"In the year 1813, when it was deemed fit that an envoy extraordinary, uniting weight of character with talent, should be sent to France, Mr. Crawford was selected by Mr. Madison for that delicate mission—but immense indeed were the difficulties that interposed. Our seaports were closely blockaded; and if perchance a vessel eluded the blockading squadron, new and greater dangers still awaited her at the entrance of a French harbor. Yet the necessity that our minister should reach the imperial court without delay was imminent, and accordingly he embarked on a sloop of war, whose gallant captain had most positive orders to avoid as much as possible an action with the enemy. The safe landing of the minister being the main object, a recourse to arms was to be had only in the defensive. This vessel successfully evaded the British cruisers on our side, and rapidly strode across the Atlantic. She made for L'Orient, in the vicinity of which she had nearly been barred by a far superior force. We shall never forget, although we cannot justly describe, the manner of the noble commander, now no more, when he narrated to us the struggle, that like a tempestuous sea arose in his breast, at the near, and at times nearer, approach of the armed vessel, which, as the fastest sailing ship of the British squadron, had been detached for the purpose of intercepting ours. Cruel was the temptation, and burning the desire, to grapple with an enemy they were conscious they might have subdued, even before the other forces could have come up. What pen could justly describe the impatient step of the commander as he faced the deck—the glistening eye of the young officer that bespoke indignation, the bosom that heaved a sigh, and maybe an imprecation against the order that propelled onward the noble vessel. However intense the feeling which pervaded the whole gallant crew, more imposing still was that sense of obedience that kept her on her track. From the hesitating movements of the chase it was evident that over-confidence did not exist on board of her, and that she but little relished the idea of separating herself too much from her consorts behind; at times drawing back, she would at others come closer, and when the latter happened, more arduous became the duty of its American commander, inasmuch as he had to look both to the rigid execution of his orders to force sails which otherwise might perhaps purposely have been but sluggishly hauled, and to the no less important duty of keeping his passenger from harm's way. This, however, was no easy task. By this time Mr. Crawford had fully identified himself in feeling with the ship's company, and would willingly, had an action been unavoidable, have exchanged his minis-

terial charge with the humblest member of the crew. Mounted upon a gun, he keenly watched the enemy's movements, and seemed at times to rejoice at her superior sailing. There he stood like a target, and would inevitably have been the first object aimed at on board. True it is, that at the captain's request, Mr. Crawford would step down and return to the deck, where even his high *statue* towered over the gangway still marked him for the first fire which was every minute expected—and true it is, that upon observations made by the captain he would occasionally retire into the cabin, but he was no sooner there than up again he was seen. This was so often times repeated, and placed him in such imminent danger, that at last the captain felt under the necessity of notifying his prisoner that were it to occur again he would have to enforce his orders and keep him down by compulsion. Of this thorough contempt of death, of this complete self-denial in Mr. Crawford, many proofs may be adduced. The sudden transposition of the plain matter-of-fact republican from the plough, to the dazzling circles of European society, is frequently the cause of extreme embarrassment to the uninitiated, and of mirth to others. Excessive modesty, that frequently borders upon awkwardness, naturally intimidates at first; whilst on the other side we have seen that a long residence abroad had a tendency to divest some of our citizens of those habits of candor that befit them much better than an outlandish mimicry, which, to their disgrace, too many of them do adopt. Against all this William H. Crawford was proof; and, whether surrounded by the most refined—whether at Woodlawn or at the Tuilleries, he ever remained in manner, and in deed, an American.

"In the drawing room, without fastidiousness, he was courteous and attentive to ladies in general, who found a great charm, not the least for being novel to them, in his frank and open conversation; and we have ourselves heard Madame de Stael, than whom in such matters no better judge could be found, assert that she had rarely conversed with a foreigner who had edified her more than he. That very simplicity of manners, indeed, stamped as it was with energy and natural grace, far from being detrimental to him abroad, proved rather the reverse. There was a straightforwardness in all he did that contrasted singularly with the sophistry and less sincere refinements of the members of the society in which he moved that forcibly drew the attention toward him.

"His natural antipathy against everything like ostentation made it particularly burdensome to him to have to wear at court the prescribed costume; and he frequently wondered that a man of such genius as Napoleon could be so tenacious upon a subject apparently so trifling—but the great man was sunk in the king, for king he must be, and in lowering himself from his high position a conqueror (Imperator) to the pageantry of his diminutial colleagues, he had likewise adopted all their weaknesses. Whilst on the subject of Napoleon it may not be amiss to observe that he possessed a degree of inquisitiveness and curiosity somewhat embarrassing, and which bore principally upon descriptions of the persons of

individuals who interested him. In such cases his questions were incessant. Upon Mr. Crawford's first presentation to the Emperor the latter was remarkably talkative—inquired particularly about the country, but more minutely still concerning the person and appearance of Mr. Madison, his age, etc., etc.

"And pray, sir," said he, 'Is Mr. Madison tall?' 'Not at all,' quickly replied Mr. Crawford; 'he is on the contrary quite small—no taller than that,' raising as he spoke his arm at a right angle with his body. In order to see the mark, however, Napoleon had himself to look up, a singular comment upon the altitude of the conquerer.

"Mr. Crawford had a high opinion of the skill and bravery possessed by Napoleon—but he never did think him, as some of the liberals in the latter period of his reign did (in the one hundred days), susceptible of sacrificing to liberty his lofty notions of military grandeur and glory.

"In the year 1814, the Minister of Marine having died, the whole diplomatic corps with all other distinguished characters in Paris, were invited to attend the funeral. The former repaired to the rendezvous, in costume, the American minister excepted, who, unaware that it was necessary on such an occasion, assisted in a plain black frock, and in boots. His appearance, he being the only one so dressed, naturally excited attention; but when the procession, which was to move from the hotel of the deceased to the church, was formed Mr. Crawford was omitted in the arrangement, and left to take his place as he might among the crowd. In this emergency he soon discovered the dilemma into which he had been, perhaps purposely placed by the master of ceremonies. Wellington, the then lion of the day, in his full costume, had been placed at the very head of the procession, whilst two by two following him came the other diplomats. Perceiving this Mr. Crawford quietly walked up and composedly took his stand by the side of the conqueror of Waterloo. Many were then the inquiries set on foot among the assistants as to 'who was the tall man in black?' and whether he should not be requested to fall back from the place he had usurped. We once heard one of the masters of ceremony observe that if he knew who he was he would unhesitatingly do so—and upon receiving from us for answer that the person in question was the minister from the United States he observed: 'Ah! c'est différent.' This man, although high in office, it had probably not been in the power of the legitimate king to induce with the ideas of reverence and awe, then the fashion, for everything English. This last remark, however, applies to the large body of the French nation, which, if supposed to be under any obligation to England, may be termed ungrateful indeed. The mass of gratitude was to be found in and about the court—but it required some courage in one depending upon its favors to avow a contrary sentiment. However, this frank deportment of our minister did not seem to displease his self-made neighbor, who immediately entered into, and continued a familiar conversation with him during the whole duration of the march, he having soon found out

** Obviously this occurred after the
restoration of the Bourbons.*

from his tone and language who he was. Since that singular introduction Wellington was exceedingly courteous toward Mr. Crawford, and continued so while they both resided at the French capital. He it was who having, in the midst of the night, received a courier with the announcement of the signature of the treaty of peace at Ghent, was the first to have it communicated, with his own congratulations, to our minister. Never was slumber more agreeably disturbed than was that at the American legation that night.

"The penurious salaries allowed our diplomatic agents abroad, a fact which may at first glance appear unimportant, is nevertheless extremely detrimental both to the individuals sent and to the prosecution of interests confided to their care—one which, as an American loving his country, and having personally not the least interest in the matter, we wish we could seriously impress upon the common sense, justice and generosity of our people—that circumstance, we say, bore with peculiar hardship upon Mr. Crawford, himself almost without any property of his own. Aware of this, he had left his numerous family on his farm, and had alone repaired to Europe. Whilst on one side, in the honesty of his heart he had promised himself that there he would spend the whole of his salary, justice to his growing family had likewise led him to hope that no encroachment upon his diminutive individual property would be rendered necessary. The promise was rigidly kept, but the hope could not be realized. His establishment befitted his official character was neither the most elegant, nor the least so, of the diplomatic circle. But, in the dispensation of his civilities he was, as all our ministers are, much more stinted than he should have been—and, although from the nature of circumstances, he most inevitably received invitations without number, but very few could he reciprocate. Between the alternateness of receiving without returning, or of ruining himself, he chose a medium course, declining civilities extended to him by strangers, and keeping his house open to his fellow-citizens alone, and a few other distinguished characters who sought his familiar society. Every American citizen who visited Paris at that period must remember that his table and board were liberally accessible to him, and will readily render justice to the frankness and republican-like manner with which his hospitality was tendered.

"His intimates among the French were LaFayette, Barbe Marbois, Baron de Stael, son of Madame de Stael, the venerable Dupont de Nemours, and Benjamin Constant. They seemed to find great pleasure in his society, and frequently courted his advice even on matters relating to the politics of their own country. Through the first named it was, that in 1814, after Napoleon's downfall, but whilst we were still at war with Great Britain, Mr. Crawford was enabled to ascertain the favorable impression entertained by the Emperor Alexander toward our country, and of his desire to bring about a reconciliation between England and the United States. This indirect conversation by means of LaFayette, whom Alexander, although his political antipode, personally respected, was

frequent and animated. As a proof that the Emperor highly valued the opinion of the American statesman he requested from him a clear and succinct narrative of the causes of our differences with England, which was handed him from General LaFayette. The ardent desire shown by Alexander upon this score renders it more than probable that the opinion of the leader of the holy alliance, so termed, had considerable weight with the British cabinet, who, certainly, in the latter stage of the negotiation, had shifted around and considerably deviated from the stiffness of our original pretensions. During the time that Mr. Crawford's mission lasted, from 1813 to 1815, events of a most important character, as affecting the face of the civilized world, happened at the French capital. The affairs of France had now reached the lowest ebb. Efforts, amounting to heroism, were now making by Napoleon to stem the last blow aimed by the whole of combined Europe at the heart of that devoted country. Little time was left the Emperor and his ministry to attend to negotiations not having for their immediate object the salvation of the country. Thus it is, that Mr. Crawford was unable to bring to a successful issue the advocacy of our claims for indemnity, although he ceased not to press the subject upon the attention of the French government as strenuously as decency and the unfortunate state of circumstances did then allow. But although he could not possibly accomplish the principal object of his mission he was far from remaining inactive at his post; and the passing events that followed each other with fearful rapidity afforded Mr. Crawford an opportunity of showing his government of what degree of perspicacity his mind was capable. His correspondence with the department of state would testify both as to his industry and to the wisdom with which he at an early period prophesied what did subsequently happen. In Paris the interest became more and more intense as the enemy with his millions of bayonets narrowed the circle within which what remained of the French army had to move. Napoleon, by one of those decisive and unexpected movements that had so often succeeded before, abruptly and with a chosen few, forced a passage through the ranks, and from being within found himself outside the circle, bearing upon the enemy's rear, whom he expected by that means to have thrown into disorder. But whether it was that the allies felt confident of their immense numerical superiority, or, as has been asserted by Napoleon, that they knew not in their confusion what to do, it is nevertheless the fact that instead of receding they pushed onward. The cannon was soon within hearing of the capital. Marmont, who had been ordered to defend it to the last, did ~~not~~ on the contrary yield, after a bloody but useless conflict had taken place under the very walls. Inside of this town, which, since wars between the French and English monarchs for the possession of the French army, had not seen a foreign foe, all was consternation and despair. How the exasperated soldiery of the coalition might behave after their entrance into it no one could possibly tell, and a general plunder was much apprehended.

"In this emergency it behooved the American minister,

both on account of his national dignity and because of its being now made the depository of certain funds, the property of the United States which had previously been deposited with the bankers, but was now placed here for greater safety—it became him, we say, to take measures for the protection of the hotel of the legation; and, accordingly, Mr. Crawford ordered the national flag to be hoisted over his door; but there was not such a thing as a flag of the United States to be had in Paris for love or money. Great indeed was the anxiety, which grew more and more intense, as reports came in every moment announcing the approach of the Cossacks. At every cost the neutrality of the American hotel must be preserved, and there existed no means of doing that as long as it was not marked by the ordinary national sign. Instructions were given for the purchase of the materials to make a flag, but the merchants were fighting at the gates; all the shops were shut up, and it was not without the greatest difficulty and after a long and tedious search that blue, white and red patches could be assembled sufficient for its completion. The scene was now worthy of a painter's pencil. Into a tailor's shop was transformed the Legation of the United States, whose minister extraordinary, with his secretaries, busied themselves in cutting, or rather tearing, for time was precious, and then putting together rather unartist-like, as may well be imagined, the stripes of the star-spangled banner. At this remote and quiet period, and when it is considered that the apprehensions then entertained of violation were not realized, this little episode may seem to be trifling and superfluous; but the event itself was not so. Agitation sat upon every countenance; American citizens, with their families, flocked for protection under the roof of their minister; and the fears of the former, contrasted with the calm earnestness of the latter, imparted to the whole an interest, the recollection of which time has not obliterated.

"Nor can it be supposed that the apprehensions then felt were imaginary, as is evidenced by the fact that so close to the city were the enemy that a cannon ball struck in the garden of the American hotel, where it was picked up. Here again did Mr. Crawford exhibit that character, a fearlessness of all personal danger, he possessed to so high a degree. Desirous of witnessing the rare and awful spectacle of a field of battle, he repaired to one of the gates near which they were at the time engaged; and here he desired to be allowed to go out, that he might, from the heights of Mount Martre take a general view of the bloody strife. But the officer commanding at the gate remonstrated, and observed to him that to go then would be attended with the greatest risk, as there was a cross-fire carried on between those heights and the plain below. Mr. Crawford insisted, however, and upon mentioning whom he was, requested that permission be asked to that effect of the commander-in-chief, whose answer was soon received. It was an imperative and absolute refusal. To his great mortification, he had to return, and could only visit the field of battle after the capitulation had taken place, which he immediately did. To his view was it exhibited in its

most awful aspect. Deprived of action, there remained of it nothing but the sad result, the dying and the dead; and among the heart-rending scenes we have heard him describe was that hearing some groans proceeding from under a heap of dead bodies, he, by removal of some of them, discovered a poor fellow in whom life was not yet extinct, but who was nearly crushed under the weight of bodies that had fallen on him.

"Time had hardly been given unfortunate France to breathe quietly under the inglorious reign of the Bourbons, when, in March, 1815, Napoleon's Eagle plucked and trampled under foot the fleurs de Lys. Some men of the Liberal party, who had fancied that they might have snatched from the weak Bourbons a greater degree of liberty than they could expect from Napoleon, exhibited a violent opposition to the Emperor's return. Some of them wrote violent Philipppics against him, and among them, in particular, the celebrated Benjamin Constant. By a singular fatality, owing to the extreme rapidity of Napoleon's movements from his place of landing in France, the strongest of those appeals to the French against the usurper, as he was called by Constant, appeared in French papers the very morning the Emperor entered the capital. However great was the capacity of the philosopher's head, no less pusillanimous was he as a man; and he now trembled lest the powerful man he had so untimely apostrophised would now visit him with his wrath. Constant knew not where to hide his head, until he bethought himself of Mr. Crawford, upon whose kindness and mercy he threw himself. Mr. Crawford's ministerial capacity could not have allowed him to make of his house a political sanctuary, but far different was the present case. The event had, without his agency, actually taken place, and honor and delicacy forbade that by his agency it should now be averted. The most cordial hospitality was extended to the proscribed during the time, which was several weeks, he kept in his hiding place. His uneasiness was rather increased when he understood that the Emperor had repeatedly sent to his house for the purpose of enquiring where he was to be found. After proposing several contrivances for the final disposition of his person, one of which was to go and embark at Wautus, by stealth for the United States, he was after a great deal of persuasion by some of his political friends, among whom was General LaFayette, induced to present himself voluntarily before Napoleon, and to abide by the consequences. We have heard this interview related by a witness, and here give as we receive it:

"Mr. Constant having entered the apartment, 'Advance,' said the Emperor in an authoritative tone. And as Constant seemed to hesitate, "Eh! que deille, advances vous donc que je vous embrasse.' He then added: 'Vous m'avez haé parce que vous ne me conneussiez pas; moi, je vous honore, parlique vous etes un honnête homme. Monsieur Benjamin Constant, je vous fais Baron.'

"One may easily conceive the pleasurable wonderment of the philosopher, whose philosophy did but ill resist such a

burst from such a man, and with that manner so peculiar to himself Napoleon knew well how to act upon the human heart—he was in fact the man of antithesis. But to return to Benjamin Constant. Proofs of his excessive timidity, to call it by the most indulgent name, abound, and among others the following, when on some public occasion he was professing in enthusiastic terms his republicanism, and had added with strict adherence to one's principles should be evinced even unto death.

"'Why, then,' rejoined one present, 'did you, Baron, bow before Napoleon?'

"'Because,' replied he, 'I am not a principle. You may stifle a principle, but if you stifle a man—'

"Mr. Crawford's political life is before the people, and that we leave to abler pens to portray. But in the discursive remarks we have made we cannot omit a circumstance connected with his ministerial mission—one which we have already, on a more public occasion, stated, going far from its peculiar nature toward substantiating what we have asserted of his highmindedness, and of the nobleness of his character. As we have previously stated, a sort of indirect communication had been carried on by the medium of LaFayette between Alexander and Mr. Crawford. Pending this, a proposition, indirect at first, but which, if countenanced, would eventually have been rendered serious, was hinted that our claims for indemnity might be included in the account adduced by the coalesced powers against France. The amount of ours was a mere trifle when compared with the excessive demands into which, almost unfelt, it would thus have been merged. But no sooner was the idea thrown out than Mr. Crawford unhesitatingly repelled the proposition, alleging that 'It were not for the United States, the most ancient and perhaps only friend France then had, to join her enemies at the worst period of her adversity; that, determined as they were, to see justice ultimately done them, the United States would notwithstanding, wait for better times.'

"Now, we fear not to aver, that to take upon himself such a determination, without instructions from home at such a moment, when hopes of final remuneration were faint indeed; when a contrary course would no doubt have gathered him at home an immense harvest of popularity, simultaneously to do an act so self-denying, so much stamped with a noble generosity, denotes a man who considers the settlement of a question of dollars and cents far inferior to the preservation of national character—the true wealth of a nation." *

*Southern Literary Messenger, June 1839.

CHAPTER XII.

IN THE CABINET OF JAMES MADISON.

The war of 1812 had cost the United States one hundred million dollars, and the lives of thirty thousand of her soldiery. It had been fought during the three years of its existence without a national currency. Gold ceasing to be current because undervalued, had become an article of merchandise, and was carried to foreign countries. Silver had been superseded by bank notes. The first bank of the United States had ceased to exist in 1811, and the Federal Government was dependent upon local banks for a currency and for loans. The dernier resort to treasury notes in great quantities which were not redeemable in coin brought about greatly depreciated, unstable and varying values. Loans were only to be had with difficulty and on the exacting terms of the lender. The Government, paralyzed by the state of the finances, accepted a treaty of peace without securing the object for which war had been declared. The first time, perhaps, in all history that a treaty between warring nations was executed without mentioning in it any stipulation derived from its cause. The impressment of our seamen by the British is not even hinted at in that carefully worded document. The object of the war, however, was attained, because the young republic had shown to the world that she would fight on that point, and that another impressment meant another war. Such was the elevation of our national character throughout the world that there has not been an impressment since.

The deplorable state of our finances and commerce and heavy taxes merely incurred the Federalist opposition to the war. The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut passed acts in direct conflict with a statute of Congress regarding the enlistment of minors, and subjected the recruiting officers to fine and imprisonment. Massachusetts again appeared in the lines of nullification in February, 1814, when the Federalist majority in her Legislature forbade the use of state prisons for British officers ordered by the American authorities to be confined there.*

At a time when accumulated disaster had almost broken the daunted spirit of the nation and the howling trumpets of war raged with greatest violence Peter Early was elected Governor of Georgia. He enthusiastically organized the military and volunteer forces of the commonwealth, and rendered the general government every assistance in the power of the

* This was manifestly within the State rights. See the later chapter in Page 17. Appendix concerning the accommodation of British ships.

state towards pressing the war with vigor. An officer of the United States applied to the state of Georgia at this time for eighty thousand dollars to relieve a temporary embarrassment caused by a want of supplies for the army. Rather than the operations of the army should languish the request was granted, and a warrant in favor of the general government was drawn upon Georgia's treasury. It was suggested by a gentleman present that as the union of the states might not be of very long duration, in which case each member of the Confederacy must depend upon itself, that it would be well to husband the state's resources. To this speech Governor Early thoughtfully replied: "I trust to God that such will never happen. If it should I have no wish that Georgia should survive the wreck. I want her to win with the union or sink together." *

On his return from France Crawford's reputation as a statesman rose to its zenith. His distinguished service abroad and his opinions and influence, together with his career in the Senate, had given tone to the politics of a great portion of the country. The war department needed at its head a strong master mind to bring order out of chaos. There were millions of unsettled claims against this department of the Government. The army must now be paid, and reduced in number, economies in its administration were to be devised, only ablest officers retained, and the correction of many abuses that had sprung up in this department during the war were to be instituted. The great burden caused by insufficient funds of the general government had fallen heaviest here. President Madison again tendered this cabinet position, and Crawford, in August, 1815, set himself to straighten its tangled, intricate affairs. The President was not disappointed in his efforts, for he had realized the Herculean task Crawford had undertaken. The benefit of his advice and sage counsel in Madison's cabinet was justly appreciated in this chrysalis state of the nation. His plans for eliminating the great war debt by gradual payment and restoring a proper organization of governmental affairs were practical and constructive. His method of procedure in gaining a thorough command of the situation is suggested by the following letter:

*White's Statistics of Georgia, p. 221.

SECRETARY CRAWFORD TO ERASTUS GRANGER,
U. S. INDIAN AGENT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 1st Oct., 1816.

Sir:

The liberal supplies furnished by the Government to the friendly Indians during the war, for the purpose of engaging their services in the field, or for substituting those who took refuge in our settlements in consequence of the destruction of their villages and provisions by the vicissitudes of the war, have, it is apprehended, produced too great a degree of dependence upon the agencies for the habitual supply of their ordinary wants since the return of peace. This, together with the extension of our intercourse with them resulting from the increased number of agencies established since the peace, has produced an expenditure in the Indian department during the last and present year greatly beyond the usual annual appropriation for that object.

The surplus of the liberal appropriations made during the war has enabled the department to meet those various and multiplied demands, but it will be impossible to continue such large expenditures for the future unless a more ample appropriation can be obtained for that object from the national legislature.

To bring the subject before Congress for the purpose of obtaining a more liberal provision which is believed to be necessary on account of the extension of our intercourse with the Indian tribes, since the present appropriation of \$200,000 was made independent of the increase of expenses which has just been noticed, it is my duty to obtain from the several agencies all the information necessary to form a correct decision upon the intended application.

You will, therefore, upon the receipt of this letter, transmit to me the names and probable numbers of the tribes under your superintendence, the amount of the amnesties paid them, the amount of presents other than provisions which ought to be distributed among them, the annual expense of provisions issued to them, at the distribution of their amnesties and on every other occasion. And an estimate of the authorized and contingent expenses of your agency, including not only the items just enumerated, but also your pay and emoluments, and those of the interpreters and other persons in your employment as agent.

As this estimate is required for the purpose of governing the department in its application to Congress for an increase of the annual appropriation for the Indian agencies, as well as for the information of that body, the idea that any increase will actually be made must not be held out to the Indians within your agency.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Erastus Granger, Esq.,
Buffalo, New York.

During Crawford's term in the War Department his report on the Indian tribes was the subject of much comment both at the time and years following. After stating the condition of the Indians, their claims upon the humanity and justice of the Government, and the course of measures that would probably tend to the diffusion of knowledge and happiness among them, he concludes as follows:

"These views are substantially founded upon the conviction that it is the true policy and earnest desire of the Government to draw its savage neighbors within the pale of civilization. If I am mistaken in this point—if the primary object of the Government is to extinguish the Indian title and settle their lands as rapidly as possible—the commerce with them ought to be entirely abandoned to individual enterprise and left without regulation. The result would be continual warfare attended by the extermination or expulsion of the original inhabitants to more distant and less hospitable regions. The correctness of this policy cannot for a moment be admitted. The utter extinction of the Indian race must be abhorrent to the feelings of an enlightened nation. The idea is distinctly opposed to every act of the Government from the Declaration of Independence to the present day. If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made. When every effort to introduce among them separate property as well as things real and personal shall fail, let intermarriage between them and the whites be encouraged by the Government; this cannot fail to preserve the race, with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed that the principles of humanity, in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interest of the nation. It will redound more to the national honor to incorporate by a humane and benevolent policy the nations of our forests, in the great American family of freemen, than to receive with open arms the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues."

These liberal sentiments of Crawford, which are now so much appreciated by students of Indianology, were not so well received at the time of utterance. The spirit of acrimony and partisanship of those times pronounced upon this extract a double sentence of reprobation. The ridicule that was heaped upon the idea of encouraging intermarriage with the loathsome savages was equalled only by the sarcasm of those who denounced the idea as visionary and barbarous. The closing sentence was condemned as unjust and illiberal towards foreigners. Indeed it was heralded by his detractors as an insult to all our immigrant population.

That the elevation of the Indian tribes to freedom, civilization and happiness would confer upon the American Gov-

ernment more honor and claim the greater admiration of the world than any act on the field of glory or the path of benevolence, no one can ever deny; that the utterance of these noble sentiments should be seized upon by political adversaries to the disadvantage of their author, demonstrates the ethics of the human understanding when warped by prejudice and political bias.

The re-incorporation of the United States Bank, with a capital of thirty-five million dollars at this time, was regarded as Crawford's measure, and the President recognizing this fact, in October, 1816, persuaded him to give up the portfolio of war and accept that of the Treasury. The country looked with confidence to him to establish financial credit, and meet the rapidly accruing public debt. During these doubtful, stringent times, when our domestic relations were so sorely embarrassed and commercial capital so greatly deranged, the profoundest ability was required to preserve the national estate from bankruptcy. The public debt at this time exceeded one hundred and twenty million dollars. During his eight years of administration of the affairs of the Treasury, notwithstanding these adverse conditions, the nation's credit was never better. The national debt was faithfully discharged, and the burdens of taxation were light and inconsiderable. To follow him as he carefully compiles the facts from his sources of information, as he laboriously investigates every avenue that may conceal some undiscovered truths, one is not astonished at the uncommon accuracy of his careful compilations. "At the time of the greatest difficulty the estimated and actual receipts of the treasury only varied ten per cent., while the estimates of his distinguished predecessors had varied from seventeen to twenty-one per cent." *

The difficulties of the last years of Madison's term were more serious than any other administration. They weighed upon him, in fact almost crushed him. The plan of a national bank as urged by Crawford, and the Treasury Department as directed by him, and the loans secured by his negotiations were all welcomed by Madison with grateful sensations of relief. The war establishment was lowered, a new tariff was adopted by Congress to increase the revenue of the Government, and the system of taxation was reformed by the gradual abolition of direct and internal taxes. There was not an instantaneous revival of commerce and of industry. There were periods of depression in which individual fortunes perished, but the gen-

*Dudley's Sketch of W. H. Crawford.

Mr Bradford hopes that the Nation will
excuse him if at this late period of the season he
declines his invitation to dine with him on Thursday
next - and that he will excuse his refusal to be
want of esteem or respect for the person or character
of the President of the United States. —

2. April 1810

President of the United States —

eral trend was towards recovery from the disorders and disruptions into which the country had been plunged by the war. The whole country, no less than Madison himself, felt that the Secretary of the Treasury should be accredited with this upbuilding of the national finances.

As the administration was nearing its close, the eye of the nation very naturally began to look to James Monroe, the Secretary of State, as Madison's successor. To elect the Secretary of State was in line with precedents established by previous administrations. The President very naturally felt committed to this policy; but the leading members of the party to which Monroe and Crawford both belonged did not disguise their preference for the latter. Crawford peremptorily declined. He declared he was young enough to wait, and advised his friends to support Mr. Monroe. The most flattering solicitations from all over the country now came to him, and a large number of influential newspapers urged his candidacy. It appears true, as Mr. Dudley says: "It has often been confidently asserted by a great number of experienced politicians of that day, that if Crawford had permitted his name to have been put in nomination at that time he might have been elected with perfect ease."

Colonel Aaron Burr, from his home in New York, wrote to his son-in-law, Joseph Alston, Ex-Governor of South Carolina, on Nov. 20th, 1815, informing him that a congressional caucus would soon nominate the "stupid and illiterate" Monroe for President of the United States, and call on all good Republicans to support him. After denouncing Mr. Monroe as an improper, hypocritical and indecisive man, and a tool of the Virginia junto, and after denouncing the caucus nomination as odious, Colonel Burr urges upon Governor Alston to take measures to break down the system by adroitly bringing General Jackson forward as a candidate, and declare his success as inevitable. Burr advises Alston to charge some friend to caution Jackson against the perfidious caresses, threats and favors of the Virginia junto, and urge him to be passive. Governor Alston fully coincided with Burr in this sentiment, but ill health and family affliction prevented the adoption of the suggestion. *

There was a Republican member of Congress at that time from New York to whom we are indebted for a valuable contribution of president-making science. In his political history of New York Dr. Jabez Hammond lays bare the various

*Memoirs of Burr by M. L. Davis, Vol. II, page 433.

schemes of that political event, which is deemed of such historic interest that we insert it here:

"There are good reasons to believe that the national administration under the control of the Virginia dynasty had for a long time entertained some jealousy of the leading and most influential Republicans in the state of New York. The great and rapidly increasing numerical weight of this state might have increased that jealousy. Hence the policy at Washington was to prevent any one man from getting, or rather from retaining, an ascendancy with the Republican party in the state. Hence we find that the minor section of that party were always the special favorites of the administration, from the time of the existence of the Burr faction down to the period of which I am writing. Accordingly, William P. VanNess, the second of Burr in the duel with Hamilton, the avowed author of Aristides, and the uncompromising enemy of DeWitt Clinton, was made a judge of the United States court.

"At this time the selection of the Presidential candidate was made by a caucus of Republican members of Congress. This was then the common law of the Democratic party. The fourteenth Congress convened on the first Monday in December. As I happened to be a member of that Congress I can speak with some confidence in relation to the manoeuvrings which occurred prior to the Congressional caucus. When the members from this state arrived in Washington it was found that nearly, if not quite all, the Republicans were for Governor Tompkins, if it should be found that there was a reasonable prospect of procuring his nomination; but it was soon ascertained that it could not be effected. The New England states were all represented by Federalists, with the exception of three Republican members from that part of Massachusetts which now constitutes the state of Maine. The majority of the Republican members were from the south, and these were all opposed to the nomination of Tompkins. Their ostensible objection was that he had never been in the service of the nation, and therefore their constituents knew little or nothing of him. It was in vain that we urged his merits as Governor of New York during the late war. 'I have no doubt,' said a member from North Carolina to me, 'that Mr. Tompkins is a good Governor. We also have a good Governor in North Carolina, but we do not, on that account, expect you to support him for the office of President.' It was difficult to answer this objection, although the only reason why Governor Tompkins had not been in the service of the nation was his refusal to accept the office of Secretary of State, solely for the reason that he could render more service to the nation as Governor than he could as Secretary of State.

"I regret to say that those who manifested an inclination to support, in caucus, Governor Tompkins, may be designated by geographical lines. His friends were to be found in New York, New Jersey, some in Pennsylvania, some in Kentucky, some in Ohio and some in Maryland; but not a single supporter of Tompkins could be found south of the Potomac,

"It soon became evident that Tompkins could not be nominated; but before this was ascertained, at any rate by those of us who were strangers, a meeting was held by the New York delegation to ascertain each others views and to endeavor to agree on ulterior measures.

"My object, and, I believe, the object of a majority of the delegates, was in case we should become satisfied that the project of nominating Governor Tompkins was hopeless, then to endeavor to procure as nearly a united vote of the state as possible for William H. Crawford, at that time Secretary of War.

"The old members, as, for instance, General Porter, John W. Taylor and Mr. Irving of New York, were extremely wary and cautious. It was soon ascertained that few of us had hopes of succeeding with Tompkins, and General Porter made some suggestions respecting the chance of success by holding him up as a candidate in opposition to the caucus nomination; and, although neither he nor any one else entertained any serious views of taking such a course, he appeared desirous to direct the attention of the delegates from the true question, which was in case Tompkins was given up, between Crawford and Monroe. Some one finally observed that the latter was the important, and in reality, the only question to be decided.

"The meeting was, notwithstanding, as appeared to me, much by means of the influence of General Porter, John W. Taylor and Enos T. Throop, broken up without any expression of opinion as between Monroe and Crawford. I knew, and those gentlemen at the time knew, that more than four to one of the delegates were for Crawford. Mr. Porter, although the fact was not then generally known, was in favor of Monroe, and he was unwilling that it should be at that juncture publicly known how large a majority of the New York delegation were for Crawford, being apprehensive of its effects upon the members of Congress from the other states. General Porter was not long after appointed commissioner under the British treaty to run the boundary line between the United States and the province of Canada.

"William H. Crawford was a self-made man. He was possessed of a vigorous intellect, strictly honest and honorable in his political conduct, sternly independent and of great decision of character. On the other hand Mr. Monroe, though he had been long in public life, a considerable part of which consisted in the execution of diplomatic agencies, was speaking of him as a candidate for the presidency, not distinguished for vigor of intellect or for decision of character, independence of action, or indeed for any extraordinary public service. He made no pretensions to distinction as a writer, or eloquence as a public speaker. He seemed to have owed his success in life to great caution, prudence, and deliberation in everything which he said or did.

"With these views of the merits of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Crawford, in connection with the fact that the chief magistracy of the nation had been so long held by citizens of Virginia, and considering Governor Tompkins out of the ques-

tion, a large majority of the New York delegation was rather ardent in support of Mr. Crawford. Governor Tompkins thought unkindly of their course. He thought they had too readily consented to give him up, although it was well known that Judge Spence, whose opinion at that time had great influence with the members, decidedly preferred Crawford to Tompkins; yet, had there been the least prospect of his nomination, I have no doubt they would, in good faith, have supported him to the last. Mr. Clinton was for Mr. Monroe. This fact I know: Mr. Van Buren took no decided part in the matter. In connection with the New York delegates Colonel Cannon from Massachusetts, part of the members from Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, North Carolina, and the whole of the Georgia delegation, were for Mr. Crawford. When Congress first assembled, as between Crawford and Monroe, I have not a particle of doubt that a majority of the Republican members were for the former. But the caucus was put off from time to time, until the session was considerably advanced, and such was the influence of the administration on its own friends, or from other causes unknown to me, when the grand caucus was held Mr. Crawford received fifty-four votes and Mr. Monroe sixty-five, who was therefore nominated for President. Governor Tompkins was nominated for Vice-President. Of the members from New York I believe that Messrs. Irving, Throop and Bridges were the only ones who voted for Monroe."

The nomination of Mr. Monroe was strenuously resisted for personal reasons. There were many who thought meanly of his abilities. His countenance had no indication of superior intellect, but exhibited an honesty of purpose which commanded respect and gained favor. His slowness of thought and want of imagination, however, were compensated for by his superior diligence. He was a fine specimen of the old Virginia gentleman—generous, hospitable, patriotic, and in stature six feet tall. There were many at this time who were unwilling to continue the "Virginia Dynasty," which had furnished the Union with Presidents twenty-four years out of twenty-eight. The opposition to Mr. Monroe was not concentrated, and since Crawford had voluntarily postponed his own claims, "Many of his best friends," says Mr. Dudley, "failed to vote or attend the caucus." He was contented with this show of strength to be in line for Monroe's successor. His magnanimity lost to him the Presidency. Had he made the slightest effort to secure the nomination it would have been his. The golden opportunity was gone never to return. "His position, in fact, was then so commanding and advantageous that his not reaching the Presidency proves either that he disdained intrigue or was an unskillful politician." *

*Parton's *Life of Jackson*, Vol. II, page 245.

The map of
 nal surveys of
 length of State
 was about 235
 The following

COUNTY

Baldwin
 Bryan
 Bullock
 Burke
 Camden
 Chatham
 Clarke
 Columbia
 Effingham
 Elbert
 Emanuel
 Franklin
 Glynn
 Greene
 Hancock
 Jackson
 Jasper
 Jefferson
 Jones
 Laurens
 Liberty
 Lincoln
 Madison
 McIntosh
 Montgomery
 Morgan
 Oglethorpe
 Pulaski
 Putnam
 Richmond
 Screven
 Tattnall
 Telfair
 Twiggs
 Warren
 Washington
 Wayne
 Wilkes
 Wilkinson

*Laid out since

The territory
 square miles.
 14,815 square
 The territory
 and 105½ broad



1818

The Federalists, still adhering to their party organization, put in nomination Rufus King for President. The Democratic candidates were elected, receiving one hundred and eighty-three votes to thirty-four for the Federal candidates.

CHAPTER XIII.

IN THE CABINET OF JAMES MONROE.

The administration of Monroe was one of great moderation. It was his policy to continue the era of good feeling. His assumption of the presidential labors was cheered by the beatific vision of political unity. It was a favorite idea with him to give new strength to the government by the extinguishment of all party divisions and feuds. The Democrats were disposed for the time being under his benign policy to forget the errors of their adversary and the Federalists to forgive their humiliation. It looked as if his desire to heal all dissensions and conciliate and unite conflicting political parties would be accomplished. There was now no French party nor British faction. The fires of party prejudice burned feebly, and found nourishment only in personal rivalries and the hatching of schemes for individual aggrandizement. The decisions of competent tribunals had generally settled all questions that had arisen from adverse constructions of the constitution, and no new dissensions had presented themselves. The halcyon season of political happiness and reconciliation appeared to be at hand. His cabinet was formed with those views in mind. General Jackson wrote him:

"Now is the time to exterminate that monster, called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness without any regard to party, you will go far, if not entirely, to eradicate those feelings, which on former occasions threw so many obstacles in the way of government; perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings."

What fine sentiments! No matter how great a partisan Jackson may have evinced himself to be when subsequently he became President it is certain he knew how to give good advice in 1817. He inconsistently fixed a much higher standard for President Monroe than he inaugurated for himself when he became President.

Because of the fact that under Crawford's administration public credit had been restored, the Treasury replenished, and the currency had reached a comparatively healthy state, he was requested by the new President to remain in charge

of this laborious and complicated department of the Government. Honorable Langdon Cheeves, in tendering his resignation of President of the United States Bank, refers to correspondence in 1819 with Secretary of Treasury, and says:

"I had much anxious intercourse with Secretary of Treasury, personally and by letter, in relation to the currency of the country and the collection of the public debts in the Atlantic as well as the Western states. It was a crisis of unexampled difficulty. The great object was to restore and preserve a sound currency generally throughout the Union. As it regarded the Atlantic portions of the Union, it appeared to my judgment to involve the soundness of the currency; but as it regarded the Western states it seemed to me to involve the existence of any currency at all. I understood distinctly that it was the object of the Secretary of the Treasury in the Western states to prevent its sudden and total prostration. In my opinion, the Secretary of the Treasury displayed much ability, great zeal and industry, perfect integrity, and commanded as much success as was practical under the circumstances of the times."

The labors of the Secretary of the Treasury, however arduous, however important and necessary to the interest of a nation, and however skillfully they may be performed, yet are not such as to attract the attention of the great mass of the community. The ungrateful aridity of its routine is lacking in vivacity. There is afforded little opportunity for display, on account of the lack of incident and attraction. Its drudgery duties do not, when best executed, afford eclat or elicit popular applause. The published files of congress, as well as his official letters, are characterized by an exuberant mind, originality and complete mastery of the subject.

The elaborate report made on the National Currency on the 12th of February, 1819, is a fair specimen of Mr. Crawford's terse style, and exhibits his opinion on a pertinent financial problem. We make from it the following excerpt:

"If banks were established only in the principal commercial cities of each state; if they were restrained from the issue of notes of small denominations; if they should retain an absolute control over one-half of their capital, and the whole of the credit which they employ, by discounting to that amount nothing but transaction paper payable at short dates, the credit and stability of the banks would at least be unquestionable. Their notes could always be redeemed in specie on demand. The remaining part of their capital might be advanced upon long credits to manufacturers, and even to agriculturists, without the danger of being under the necessity of calling upon such debtors to contribute to their relief, if emergencies should occur. Such debtors are, in fact, unable to meet sudden exigencies, and ought never to accept of advances from banks, but upon long credits for which timely

provisions may be made. The latter class of all others is the least qualified to meet the sudden demands which a pressure upon banks compels them to make upon their debtors. The returns of capital invested in agriculture are too slow and distant to justify engagements with banks except upon long credits. If the payment of the principal should be demanded at other periods than those at which the husbandman receives the annual reward of his toil, the distress which would result from the exaction would greatly outweigh any benefit which was anticipated from the loan. That the establishment of banks in agricultural districts has greatly improved the general appearance of the country is not denied. Comfortable mansions and spacious barns have been erected; lands have been cleared and reduced to cultivation; farms have been stocked and rendered more productive by the aid of bank credits. But these improvements in most cases will eventually be found to effect the ruin of the proprietor. The farm with its improvements will frequently prove unequal to the discharge of the debt incurred in its embellishment. Such, in fact, is the actual or apprehended state of things wherever banks have been established in small inland towns and villages.

"Poverty and distress are impending over the heads of most of those who have attempted to improve their farms by the aid of bank credits. So general is this distress that the principal attention of the state Legislatures, where the evil exists, is at this moment directed to the adoption of measures calculated to rescue their fellow-citizens from the inevitable effects of their own indiscretion. If in affording a shield to the debtor, against the legal demand of his creditor, the axe could be applied to the root of the evil, by the annihilation of banks where they ought never to have existed, the interference, however doubtful in point of policy or principle, might eventually be productive of more good than evil. The general system of credit, which has been introduced through the agency of banks, brought home to every man's door, has produced a fictitious state of things extremely adverse to the sober, frugal and industrious habits, which ought to be cherished in a republic. In the place of these virtues, extravagance, idleness, and the spirit of gambling adventure have been engendered and fostered by our institutions. So far as these evils have been produced by the establishment of banks, where they are not required, by the omission to impose upon them wholesome restraints; and by the ignorance or misconduct of those who have been entrusted with their direction, they are believed to be beyond the control of the Federal government. Since the resumption of specie payments measures have been adopted in some of the states to enforce their continuance; in others the evil has been left to the correction of public opinion. There is, however, some reason to apprehend that the authority of law may be interposed in support of the circulation of notes, not convertible into specie. But the Federal government has, by its measures, in some degree contributed to this spirit of speculation and of adventurous enterprise, which at this moment strongly characterize the citizens of this republic. The system of credit, which

in the infancy of our commerce was indispensable to its prosperity, if not to its existence, has been extended at a period when the dictates of sound discretion seemed to require that it should be shortened. The credit given upon the sale of the national domain has diffused this spirit of speculation and of inordinate enterprise among the great mass of our citizens. The public lands are purchased and splendid towns erected upon them, with bank credits. Everything is artificial. The rich inhabitants of the commercial cities, and the tenants of the forest differ only in the object of their pursuits. Whether commerce, splendid mansions, or public lands, be the object of their desire, the means by which the gratification is to be secured are bank credits. This state of things is no less unfriendly to the duration of our republican institutions than it is adverse to the development of our national energies, when great emergencies shall arise; for upon such occasion the attention of the citizen will be directed to the preservation of his property from the grasp of his creditors, instead of its being devoted to the defense of his country. Instead of being able to pay with promptitude the contributions necessary to the preservation of the state, he will be induced to claim the interference of the government to protect him against his folly and ignorance. This ought not to be the condition of a republic, when menaced by foreign force, or domestic commotion. Such, it is apprehended, will be the condition of the United States if the course which has been pursued since the commencement of the late war is not abandoned. Since that period it is believed the number of banks in the United States has been more than doubled. They have been established in the little inland towns and villages, and have brought distress and ruin upon the inhabitants. When the cause and extent of the evil is known no doubt is entertained that the appropriate remedies will be applied by those who, in our complex form of government, are invested with the necessary authority."

The other members of Monroe's cabinet were John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and William Wirt, Attorney General. These were all of the Democratic ~~and~~ Republican school of politics. Return Jonathan Meigs of Ohio was Postmaster General, and Benjamin W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts was continued Secretary of the Navy, having been first appointed by Madison. These last two, however, were not raised to the dignity of cabinet officers.

Of the cabinet officers Adams, Calhoun and Crawford were each looking with longing eyes to succeed Monroe in the Presidential chair. Henry Clay, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and General Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans were also candidates. With the advent of Jackson's candidacy Calhoun withdrew, and became an applicant for the Vice-Presidency on the Jackson ticket. A private letter of Crawford's, touching his own candidacy, may prove of interest here: *

*This letter copied from original in Alabama State Archives, and furnished through courtesy of Hon. T. M. Owen.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

WASHINGTON, 4th Sept. 1821.

My Dear Sir:

Your two letters from Elbert have been received by yesterday's mail. I write, but am not certain that it will reach you before you leave that place.

I agree with you that I have no claim for more than the public has already done for me. Indeed, I had no right to claim, or expect as much, nor have I sought or claimed, or expected it. What has been done for me, with the exception of my elections to the State Legislature, and to the Senate of the United States, was done without consulting me, or if consulted, I was entreated to permit it to be done. In these cases I have come under no obligations—the obligation has, in fact, been on the other side.

In what is yet in store for me, I shall act as heretofore. I shall not degrade myself by importunity, or suffer it to be done by others. I shall avoid the contamination of faction and intrigue. If I am placed in office I will be free to follow the dictates of my own conscience and judgment. I am, however, under no more apprehensions now of being forced into office than I was in 1816, when office was clearly in my reach if I had been ambitious of it.

If a southern man is not elected Mr. Adams will be. This, at least, is the general opinion, as far as I know it. He will, I believe, be supported by Mr. Calhoun with doubtless an expectation of succeeding him at the end of his term, or terms, as the case may be. I am afraid that his morality does not rise above considerations of this kind. After the close of the next session of Congress I shall be able to form a tolerably correct opinion of the probable result.

I am very apprehensive of the result of the election of Governor in Georgia. Colonel Troupe, I understand, is sanguine of success. I feel much more interested in his success than I do as to what may await me.

I remain, dear sir, with sentiments of the most sincere regard, yours, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Honorable Charles Tait.

Let those who ascribe all wisdom to the past and lament the degeneracy of the present age as they cry out with croaking pessimism against its vanities, consider the campaigns for the Presidency in the early days of our republic, and learn that human nature is just the same in all ages and under all varying conditions. There was just as much calumny, zeal and bitterness, and the contest was as earnest, fierce and acrimonious in 1824 as at any time since. The contemporaneous newspaper press of 1800 was just as abusive of Adams and Jefferson as it was of William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley in the good year of our Lord 1900. True, since the advent of the railroad, telegraph, and improved conditions of travel the candidates are nominated in popular conventions;

yet who can say that the present system is not itself open to as grave objection as was the old congressional caucus? The contest of 1824 was one of mere personal contest among the people. The friends of each were full of enthusiasm, and reviled, intrigued against, and freely calumniated the others.

Jackson's late entrance into the race did not soften its asperities. A number of the prominent newspapers and statesmen were disposed to treat his candidacy as a joke, and argued his total lack of training and disqualification for the position.

Jackson hated Crawford with a boiling fury. Crawford had fallen under the measure of his wrath.

Woe to the man against whom the wrath of Jackson was kindled!

The cause of Jackson's animosity was on account of the fact that Crawford, while Secretary of War, allowed the claim of the Cherokees to certain lands of the Creeks which had been ceded by them at the treaty of Fort Jackson. A delegation of Cherokee chiefs had presented themselves at Washington, and after a full hearing Crawford believed their claim just, and allowed it. The treaty made at Fort Jackson with the Creeks was a hard one, and exacted large sacrifices of territory. Its phraseology was the most imperious and ungrateful which could be used towards a spirited people, and was executed by only one-third of the nation. General Jackson, therefore, in the following summer, on meeting the Indians, was forced, as he claimed, to buy back the ceded lands which he had supposed was already the property of the United States. * His rage knew no bounds; he considered that Crawford, in granting the petition of the Indians, had annulled his conquest and interfered with his rightful command. This animosity of Jackson was heightened by the impression he had received that Crawford was hostile to the measures he had adopted in the Seminole War.

At the very beginning of Monroe's administration a war with the Creeks of Georgia and the Seminoles of Florida broke out. The United States Government had long desired to clear the section newly ceded by the Indians of those few aborigines that still lingered in this territory. * A war ensued on the determination of the United States to remove the hostile tribes. It was begun with cruel, heartless massacres on both sides, and ended with a devastating, burning, despoiling, slaying expedition half military, half Indian under General Jackson, who had conquered the Creeks the year before. Jack-

*Parton's *Life of Jackson*, Vol. II, page 355.

son's army numbered three thousand soldiers—there were less than one thousand Indians. On the pretext that the Spanish authorities were inciting the Indians to commit outrages in Georgia and under the plea of military necessity, Jackson invaded the Spanish territory of Florida, seized St. Marys and Pensacola. He transported the Spanish officers, civil and military, to Havana, abolished the revenue laws of Spain, established those of the United States, and, on his own authority, established civil and military officers. He did not stop with this, but hung two Indian chiefs without trial who had fallen into his hands, and also put to death by virtue of a military courtmartial created by him (of which Gen. E. P. Gaines was president), two British traders whom he accused of inciting the Indians to war against the people of the United States. The seizure and trial by him within the Spanish lines of the two British subjects, Ambrister and Arbuthnot, was the occasion of an extended discussion in congress and continued diplomatic correspondence with England and Spain.

Florida was then a sore spot. The old boundary troubles had never been settled. Fugitives, criminals, runaway slaves, pirates and smugglers found here a refuge and a starting point. The Spanish authorities were not inclined to respect their neighbors, and were too weak to force others to respect them. "This country," said President Monroe, "had in fact become the theatre of every species of lawless adventure." General Jackson had been ordered to subdue the troublesome Seminoles, and strong measures were used by him to effect this object. His conduct was afterward made a subject of inquiry by both houses of Congress. The matter was referred to the committee on military affairs in the house, which committee reported resolutions of censure and disapprobation of Jackson's conduct; but after a protracted debate, in which Henry Clay was emphatic and eloquent in condemnation of Jackson, the report was rejected by a large majority. Because the President had acquiesced in Jackson's plans Crawford states he made no opposition to his movements. Calhoun opposed Jackson's movements, and proposed a courtmartial. Adams, however, approved his course in the war, and was his friend in the cabinet. Jackson erroneously believed Crawford to be inimical and Calhoun friendly to his course. The President and his cabinet decided that the seized forts and places should be restored to Spanish authorities.

In a letter written July 6th, 1820, by General Jackson to Gen. John Clark of Georgia he mentions "A conspiracy formed by designing demagogues, of which I found William H. Craw-

ford the chief, surrounded by his minions, Clay, Cobb & Company to exalt himself by prostrating the executive through me."

Crawford seems to have taken little heed of Jackson's numerous attacks upon him. To his friend, Judge Tait, he wrote:

"I have seen a number of the electioneering hand bills published in Nashville under the immediate eye of the General. What ought to be done with this man? He is not inferior to the Georgia General in depravity and vindictiveness, and superior to him in talent and address. With this man I have had no direct quarrel. All the provocation has been on his part—no notice has been taken of his anger or his malignity—this indifference to his anger is the head and front of my offending towards him. Shall I permit him to go on until envy shall be its own punishment?" *

General Jackson could never discover any virtue or patriotism in any one who chose to differ with him in politics.

Calhoun, in 1816, had strenuously opposed those partial friends of Crawford who were urging his nomination against Monroe. He did not dare to advance a rival from his own section of the country, but studiously sought means to thwart the Georgian's ambition.

CHAPTER XIV.

PURITAN AND CAVALIER.

The Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury antithetically were antipodes. The Northerner was cold, apathetic, severe; among strangers he was unapproachable, with an overweening ambition which his best efforts could not hide nor repress, and haunted continually with a fear that his disposition was such as to repel others. The Southerner was genial, gay, open-hearted and possessed of a gift for boon companionship that caused him to be sought by all who came within his sphere.

The consummate prudence with which Mr. Adams conducted affairs of state gave him great reputation. He was a student and a statesman with a mind well stored; but possessing no enthusiasm and without the power to appreciate it in others. The generous impulses of his heart were never so great at any time as to be likely to mislead his judgment.

The Puritan could never understand the Cavalier's magnetic command of men and the attachment they bore him. The love of friends, and the sweet communion of kindred spirits in fond fellowship was to him a sealed book. Wrapped

*This letter from Tate correspondence furnished by Dr. T. M. Owens,

in his own morbid fancies as he viewed Crawford, the pervading light and life of the cabinet, or again arm in arm with some brother statesman, bristling with gay humor and roaring with laughter over some good story, Adams could see in this nothing but intrigue. The Puritan then treading homeward his solitary way would record his venom enforced by pious observations; and he firmly believed that in transcribing to paper the fruits of jealousy all the bickerings and malevolence of his own nature against his rival he was performing a Christian duty.

From his early manhood he recorded the most confidential communications of his friends. These communications were not designed entirely for future reference to establish facts in his own mind. His comments thereon are full of political wisdom, and show much common sense mingled with bitter spleen, and were evidently written by him to give expression to his innermost soul of what he really believed and wished posterity to believe.

Mr. Adams provoked the greatest political antagonism of the Southern people. The curious will be interested in the partisan picture of him drawn by the pen of W. H. Sparks, a versatile Georgian, who says: *

"He was naturally suspicious. He gave no man his confidence, and won the friendship of no one. Malignant and unforgiving, he watched his opportunity, and never failed to gratify his revengeful nature whenever his victim was in his power. The furtive wariness of his small gray eye, his pinched nose, receding forehead and thin, compressed lips indicated the malignant nature of his soul. Unfaithful to friends, and only constant in selfishness—unconscious of obligation, and ungrateful for favors, fanatical only in hatred—pretending to religious morality, yet pursuing unceasingly with merciless revenge those whom he supposed to be his enemies, he combined all the elements of Puritan bigotry and Puritan hate in devilish intensity. He deserted the Federal party in their greatest need, and meanly betrayed them to Mr. Jefferson, whom from his boyhood he had hated and reviled in doggerel rhymes and the bitterest prose his genius could suggest. He never lost an opportunity to assail the interest of the institutions of the South. He hated her, and to him more than any other is due the conduct of the northern people towards the South which precipitated the civil war and destroyed the harmony once existing between the people. His father had been repudiated by the South for a more trusted son of her own. This was a treasured hatred; and when he shared his father's fate this became the pervading essence of his nature."

Senator Felix Grundy of Tennessee once said of him:

"Sparks' *Memoirs of 50 Years*, page 139.

"Our Southern friends in the House found it impossible to do anything with that old man. They cannot contrive any way by which to put him down. If they wish to get any measure through which he will be likely to oppose they try to find a time to do it when he is not there; but there is no such time, because he is always in his place. There is no use in questioning his facts, because he is always right. His memory never fails him. He is a very difficult man to argue with, because he always grows keener and sharper with every attack. At one time they thought it would be a good plan to neglect him to talk with each other, and pay no attention while he was speaking; but the truth is, he is so infinitely interesting that it is impossible not to listen to him whenever he begins to speak, and everyone crowds close to his chair so as not to lose a word." *

The diary of John Quincy Adams, which was commenced when he was a lad of twelve and kept up until his death at eighty-one years of age, has been published in connection with his biography by his son, Honorable Charles Francis Adams. It fills twelve octavo volumes, and as published gives the most complete inside history of Monroe's administration. Many people have formed their estimate of William H. Crawford from the account given by Adams in this diary. Yet Adams, although a learned man, was singularly defective in his judgment of men in general, and besides in this case was always Crawford's jealous rival. It is curious to note with what antipathetic feelings he wrote of him, and how much of those twelve volumes are devoted to decrying him. Every good word, action and expressed motive of Crawford seems to have been by Adams misjudged, misconstrued and foully miscalculated to his injury. Accordingly in January 1818, he writes:

"If I understand the character of my colleague Crawford's point d' honneur is to differ from me and to find no weight in any reason assigned by me. Wirt and Crowninshield will always be of the President's opinion. Calhoun thinks for himself, independently of all the rest, with sound judgment, quick discrimination and keen observation."

Again in February, 1819, we quote:

"Crawford is not a worse man than the usual herd of ambitious intriguers—perhaps not so bad as many of them. I do not think him entirely unprincipled, but his ambition swallows up his principle. His position is a bad one. Having been a caucus candidate against Mr. Monroe he feels as if his very existence is staked upon his being his successor. And, although himself a member of the administration, he presumes every day more clearly that his only prospect of success hereafter depends upon the failure of the administra-

*Anti-Slavery Days by J. F. Clarke, page 43.

tion by measures of which he must take care to make known his disapprobation."

The restriction of slavery and the freedom of slaves was ever a favorite theme with Adams. Descanting on the action of Congress in failing to restrict slavery, he writes July 5th, 1819:

"The slave drivers, as usual, whenever this topic is brought up, bluster and bully, talk of the white slaves of the eastern states and the dissolution of the union, and oceans of blood; and the northern men, as usual, pocket all this hectoring, sit down in quiet, and submit to the slave scourging republicanism of the planters. Crawford, who sees how this affair will ultimately go, and who relies upon the support of the slave drivers, is determined to show them he is on their side."

From these morose meditations of Mr. Adams, whose life was one of perpetual misgivings, let us examine closely the interviews with his colleague. The trembling, foreboding and misanthropic dubitations of the Puritan were (as one may read between the lines) very often dispelled as the Cavalier by his broad grasp of thought, energy of spirit and superior judgment of men and measures impressed even him. Almost at random we select the entry of May 27th, 1819, near the beginning of Monroe's administration:

"I called this morning at Mr. Crawford's office to consult with him upon what is to be done to obtain an astronomer for the commission under the fifth article of treaty of Ghent, in the room of Hassler. Crawford's opinion of Hassler is that, although a man of mathematical and astronomical science, he is practically a very inefficient man; a mere mill-clapper of babbling, enormously extravagant in his demands, troublesome by his indiscretion and tiresome by his correspondence. His conduct on this occasion has been so provoking, his demands so exorbitant, his tone so dictatorial and his procedure withal so crafty, that I could not think of submitting to his terms. After full conversation with Mr. Crawford I determined to write to Mr. Elliott, at Westpoint, requesting him to undertake the business, and to Major Thayer, the commanding officer at the academy, asking his assent that Elliott should go. I wrote to them accordingly, and enclosed the letters open, with my answer to the commissioner, Van Ness. I had also some conversation with Mr. Crawford on the present situation and prospects of the country, which are alarming. The banking bubbles are breaking. The staple productions of the soil, constituting our principal articles of export, are falling to half and less than half the prices which they have lately borne, the merchants are crumbling to ruin, the manufacturers perishing, agriculture stagnating, and distress universal in every part of the country. The revenue has not yet been, but must very sensibly and very soon be affected by this state of things, for which there seems to be no remedy but time and patience,

and the change of events which time affects. Crawford showed me his last bank returns, which are as large as usual, and the condition of the Treasury is daily improving."

Again on November 16th, 1819, he writes:

"At noon, after a mere call at the office, I attended at the President's, where Mr. Crawford and Mr. Wirt soon afterwards came. The President read to us a portion of his message which he had prepared, and which was very little more than what he read to me last week. He had drawn two concluding paragraphs, referring to the contingency that Spain should assume a hostile attitude, one of which was in general terms and the other more explicit, glancing at the propriety of occupying the territory between the Sabine and the Rio Bravo. Crawford preferred the general expressions, and told a story about old Governor Telfair of Georgia, who, having got into a sharp correspondence with some officer, pointed to a paragraph which struck him as too high-toned, and told his secretary he would thank him to make that paragraph 'a little more mysterious.' We all laughed very heartily at this joke, which so pleased Crawford that he told the story over again in detail; but it was good upon repetition. He said he had been conversing with Mr. Lowndes, who told him that back in England and France everybody with whom he had conversed appeared to be profoundly impressed with the idea that we were an ambitious and encroaching people, and he thought we ought to be very guarded and moderate in our policy to remove this impression."

Great questions of diplomacy were not all that constituted the perturbations of Mr. Adams' mind. The question of etiquette and the directing of visits of wives of cabinet officers was discussed by the cabinet, and in December, 1819, he writes:

"The rule I proposed was to separate entirely the official character from the practice of personal visiting—to pay no visits but for the sake of friendship or acquaintance, and then without inquiring which is first and which last, and that their wives should practice the same. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun were willing to adopt this rule for themselves, and have indeed practiced it; but their wives have made it a point to visit first those of all members of Congress, and they would not alter that rule. My wife has followed the same rule for the ladies that I have for the men, and this has brought us into disgrace with all the members of congress who have wives here, and with many others. Crawford's whole policy is in all things to cringe to members of congress because he has a steady eye upon the caucus visits in adhering to this system, though it gives offense to all the ladies who come here without happening to be the wives of Congressmen, and are therefore not honored with Mrs. Crawford's visits. And thus it is that the paltry passion for precedence works alone."

The delineation of the character of his hated rival by Mr. Adams is so forbidding in its studied expressions of

vituperation that we would much prefer to leave off all other reference to it were it not for the fact that the writer avowedly proclaimed that he wrote for posterity. We have quoted his own words so as to give the reader a chance to form a correct opinion as to its prejudice. Simple justice requires at least a cursory glance as to its merits. So many who have essayed to write history have been content without further investigation to accept Mr. Adams' low estimate that the reputation of the great Georgian has suffered violence. It is painful to observe with what emphasis Mr. Adams imputes the want of proper motives to every principle that Crawford enunciated. It is a fact that because he was among the first who advocated a short term of service for public officials he was severely condemned. This measure as advocated by Mr. Crawford and by political economists since was obviously in the interest of pure government, but his ungenerous rival saw in it nothing but "intrigue"—all "intrigue."

Theodore Roosevelt, in his "Life of Thomas H. Benton," seeks to repudiate Benton's own high opinion of Crawford. Senator Benton had every opportunity for correctly estimating his character; and although in his polished literary productions there is no evidence that his choice of implements was a "muck rake," and he does not affect the sputtering cacaphonies of the rough rider style of criticism, yet he never failed to condemn those whose actions he deemed narrow, unpatriotic or censurable. In his excellent book, "Thirty Years' View of the American Government," he thus characterizes the cabinet to which Mr. Crawford belonged:

"It would be difficult to find in any government, in any country at any time, more talent and experience, more dignity and decorum, more purity of private life, a larger mass of information and addiction to business than was comprised in this list of celebrated names." *

Again in a chapter on the death of Crawford Benton writes:

"When the array of eminent men was thick, when historic names of the expiring generation were still in the public theatre, and many of the new generations (to become historic) were entering upon it, he seemed to compare favorably with the foremost." †

What Benton perceived and recorded as the result of long acquaintance is entirely overlooked by Mr. Roosevelt, who says:

"When Crawford, the scheming politician, was seeking the Presidency, and to further his ends, he procured the

*Thirty Years View of Workings of American Government.

†Ibid, Vol. II, page 63.

passage by Congress of a law limiting the term of service of all officials to four years. This law has never been repealed. Every low politician being virtually interested to keep it as it is, and it is on the statute books at the present day." *

It is not true that the majority of the members of congress at this time, and who passed this bill, were "low politicians." On the other hand, congress was composed of the brainiest, bravest and purest men. The principle of a four years' limitation tenure of office has been practiced since in many states of the union, and by many municipalities with approval of the wise and sagacious as having a tendency to promote by a healthful check and espionage the cleanest administration of government. This rule of four years limitation then advocated by Crawford is now made applicable to the governorship of many of the states, and is pronounced wholesome wherever given a fair trial. This is true especially of Georgia, where the terms of office are short whether they be elective or appointive. If the Roosevelt estimate be true what a wonderful influence Crawford must have possessed to procure the passage of such a law for his benefit when he himself was not in congress! Was it possible for him to over-awe the illustrious Speaker of the House, or Representative Henry Clay, his rival? What of Daniel Webster, Thomas Benton, John Randolph, Nathaniel Macon, H. G. Otis, William R. King, Richard M. Johnson, James Barbour, and all the other famous personages who were members of this celebrated Congress? The record shows that each one of these voted for this measure.

On January 8th, 1820, Mr. Adams records in his diary:

"One of the most remarkable features of what I am witnessing every day is a perpetual struggle in both houses of congress to control the Executive—to make it dependent upon and subservient to them. They are continually attempting to encroach upon the powers and authority of the President. As the old line of demarcation between parties has been broken down, personal has taken the place of principle opposition. The personal friends of the President in the House are neither so numerous nor so active, nor so able as his opponents. Crawford's personal friends, instead of befriending the administration, operate as powerfully as they can without exposing or avowing their motives against it. Every act and thought of Crawford looks to the next Presidency. All his springs of action work not upon the present, but upon the future, and yet his path in the department is now beset with thorns from which he shrinks, and which I think he will not ward off with success. In short, as the first term of Mr. Monroe's administration has hitherto been

*Roosevelt's Life of Benton, page 80.

the period of greatest national tranquillity, enjoyed by this nation at any portion of its history, so it appears to me scarcely avoidable that the second term will be among the most strong and violent. Crawford has labors and perils enough before him in the management of the finances."

These remarks were made as to the conduct of the Secretary of Treasury concerning his own chief's administration.

The finances, however, were managed, and these grave difficulties were all overcome with consummate skill and perfect success. The clouds of threatened disaster with which the Treasury Department were overhung in the beginning of Crawford's administration were all dissipated and ended in brightest sunshine and clearest skies.

In the privacy of his own heart Mr. Adams had vainly attempted to school himself to believe these cruel accusations. Nursing his wrath to almost frenzy he writes:

"Crawford has been a worm preying upon the vitals of the administration within its own body."

Again he writes:

"A worthless and desperate man against whom I have been compelled to testify in a court of justice attempts in the face of his own conscience to save himself from infamy by discrediting my testimony, and finds in Mr. Crawford a ready and willing auxiliary to support him in this scandalous purpose. Crawford solemnly deposes in a court of justice that which is not true."

The minute evidence vouched for by a pious President of the United States against this eminent statesman, whose chief fault was his prospect of success in the race with his rival, has been frequently accepted by American students who have failed to examine further into the matter than this diary; and the true, brave, gay, open-hearted and wise Crawford is pilloried by almost the only one of his contemporaries that failed to recognize his merit and appreciate his virtues.

This diary has been almost the only available source of information accessible to the general public by which any judgment of Crawford's character could be estimated. If it be correct, then are we writing the biography of the most detestable and execrable of men—a man of small capacity, treacherous, unpatriotic, false to friends, an enemy to his chief, unequal to the duties assigned and without capacity to accomplish their fulfillment. This is what John Quincy Adams wished his children and posterity to believe concerning his detested rival.

This same keeper-of-a-diary, in a mood of melancholy reflection and remorse for his mistreatment of a visitor, thus writes of himself:

"I am a man of reserve, cold, austere and forbidding manners. My political adversaries say a gloomy misanthrope; and my personal enemies an unsocial savage. With a knowledge of the actual defects in my character, I have not the pliability to reform it."

This cause for animosity, this acknowledged austerity, this morose disposition did not nourish his hate alone upon Crawford. His diary abounds in despicable abuse of all the great and good men who ever in any way opposed his plans. In October, 1818, he writes of Henry Clay:

"Clay would think well of any plan that would excite dissatisfaction with the administration."

In speaking of Webster's friendship for Clay he declares it as "false, insidious and treacherous."

And again in the anguish of his soul he writes:

"But from the day I quitted the walls of Harvard H. G. Otis, Theophilus Parsons,[†] Timothy Pickering, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, John Davis, W. B. Giles and John Randolph have used up their faculties in base and dirty tricks to thwart my progress in life and destroy my character."

We are not left without other evidence than the diary itself; that in Monroe's cabinet, Adams' natural acerbity, would have manifested itself more to the detriment of his diplomatic correspondence but for some mollifying influence. Hon. Albert Gallatin, a cotemporary, gives us this cause:

"Crawford complained of the difficulty he encountered in the cabinet of softening the asperities which invariably predominated in the official notes of the state department while under Adams' direction, and said had they been allowed to remain as originally drafted the government would have been embarrassed with diplomatic relations with more than one power." *

Mr. Gallatin described Adams as "A virtuous man whose temper is not the best. * * * * He wants that most essential quality, a sound and good judgment."

Adams, in his rage and jealousy, wrote against Crawford groundless and unqualified calumnies, more cruel than the grave. He did himself the injustice to hand down to posterity these libels unchanged and unretracted. That they are libels, and that they were not even believed by Adams himself, we may conclusively infer from a fact that argues more potently than all the records in his twelve ponderous volumes. This one fact irrefutably disproves that the man

[†]Stevens Life of Gallatin, p. 351.

†Strange that the recollection of Chief Justice Parsons should so gall the kibe of Adams, who had read law in the office of this distinguished jurist, and had received from him many favors.

whom Adams, in vitriolic phrases, recorded as unscrupulous, unskilled in the duties of his office, incapacitated, treacherous, full of intrigue and perjury—that this man, whose reputation he worked years to destroy by recording for posterity minute details of cabinet meetings and views colored and filled with prejudice to suit his insatiable jealousy and rage, was in character and mind, and secretly esteemed by him just the reverse of what he painted. What is to be thought of this recording angel that while so feeling and so writing on the 10th day of February, 1825, he offered this man whom he had set down as so base and villainous the place of Secretary of the Treasury to manage the nation's finances, beseeching him to be one of his own political family, as unsolicited he tendered a seat to him in his own cabinet?

CHAPTER XV.

TWO POISONED ARROWS.

Politics in Georgia had been quiescent during and immediately after the war of 1812. All minor differences had been forgotten as the people presented a solid front against the common enemy. When the war was over, England having been deprived so long of her needed stores of cotton, was now offering about twenty-five cents per pound for the staple, and this fact turned the minds of the people of the South to its increased production. When the price declined in 1819 the Georgia farmer adjourned from the cotton field to the nearby country store to whittle and talk on the differences between the Clark and Crawford parties. The weekly newspapers extensively discussed factional politics, and partisans of both sides were lining up for the fray. Gen. John Clark became a candidate. The Crawford party put forward George M. Troup, who resigned his seat in the United States Senate to oppose Clark in this gubernatorial campaign. After a long and exceedingly bitter contest the Legislature elected John Clark Governor by thirteen majority. At the beginning of the campaign General Clark published a scurrilous book of two hundred and eight pages with the following title: "Consideration on the Purity of the Principles of W. H. Crawford, Esq. Deducible from his conduct in connection with that of Charles Tait, Esq., towards the author of this publication. To which is added some remarks upon the introduction of Africans into this state, contrary to the laws of the United States, with suggestions as to the probable concern with the Indian agent with one of higher standing in that

business. By John Clark, Augusta. Printed at the Georgia Advertiser office 1819."

The author declares the book to be published for the benefit of his children, "and for the still further and not less important purpose of exhibiting in a proper point of view the real character of William H. Crawford, Esq., the present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, from which, as I conceive, a proper estimate may in some degree be made of his just claims to public confidence and of his moral fitness for further promotion."

This book relates with prosy detail the quarrels between Clark and Crawford. It is full of certificates of persons and grand juries, affidavits and various communications from sundry parties. The author goes into prolix discourse in attempting to prove that Crawford and Tait had sought to blacken his character, showing that he presented the matter to the Legislature of Georgia, and charges that the investigation by the Legislature was unfair and partial to Tait. All the details connected with his duel with Crawford are set out with great particularity. An account of his attacking Judge Tait in the streets of Milledgeville is also included. The book concludes with an accusation against Hon. D. B. Mitchell of importing Africans into Georgia contrary to law, and that a high official of the government (Crawford) was concerned therein. The proofs are so indefinite and vague, the accusations so lacking in testimony to sustain them on the direct charges, so full of redundant and irrelevant matter that neither Crawford nor any of his friends even answered it. The matter was now old, and had once been thoroughly investigated by the Legislature of Georgia, * on most of the charges named therein so that any reply seemed to be useless, especially as Crawford had since been twice elected United States Senator without opposition. These pamphlets were generally distributed by the author, and a second edition was published in 1823 to influence voters of other states against Crawford's election to the Presidency.

The second edition declared in its preface: "There is another point which a moral and religious community cannot but regard as fatal to Mr. Crawford's pretensions. He has been engaged in more than one duel." This sentiment was extraordinary indeed, coming as it did from General Clark, who was noted for his duelling proclivities.

When Adams had read this pamphlet he made this entry in his diary:

*See *Infra*. Chapter V.

"The pamphlet is bitter, and presents Crawford's character in a very odious light. It has the same fault that it charges upon Crawford. Clark declares his belief that Crawford is a confederate with Mitchell in his slave smuggling speculations. This I do not believe, and Clark adduces no evidence to support the charge." *

Hon. Thomas Cooper, in his brief sketch of "Life and Character of Crawford," published in Albany, N. Y., August, 1824, (under pseudonym of "Americanus") says of him:

"Perhaps no individual of any age, certainly none of the present (if we except Mr. Jefferson), ever received a larger measure of ungenerous treatment than Mr. Crawford. His character has been not only mistaken from a want of knowledge of it, or from an honest error of opinion; but it has been assiduously falsified. From the moment his name became associated with the Presidency it has been assailed with a wantonness and a malignity that have no more a parallel in our modern history than they can expect to have an apology from the lips of liberal and candid men. Humiliating as the reflection is, it is nevertheless natural that in some degree it should be so. Envy and detraction always attack soonest the brightest characters. It argues no common degree of talent and integrity that thus draws down upon their possessor such liberal abuse. From the humble walks of life Mr. Crawford has won his way, unaided by wealth and family distinction, or by the happy concurrence of fortuitous events, to such honors as, under our happy form of government, any citizen may aspire to and be proud of. It is not strange that qualities which have thus elevated their possessor should be the peculiar object of attack and of the vindictive persecution which they alone indulge in who would destroy that which they cannot equal. † We say it, with a solemn consciousness of its truth, that all good men who will look fully into the character of William H. Crawford will find him to be a tried Republican, a man of unblemished integrity, of simple habits, and of a singular purity of life and conduct, much injured and calumniated, but of undoubted virtue, talent and capacity."

On account of his long absence from his native state it was thought that his friends had grown callous, and that the state might be dragooned into the Jackson column by uniting all opposition to secure this end. General Clark, who was a close and confidential friend of Calhoun, supported Jackson after Calhoun's name had been withdrawn; but Georgia did not repudiate her favorite at the ballot box.

*Adams Life of J. Q. Adams.

†Nathaniel Macon said he had been upon familiar terms with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and with the members of their Cabinets, besides other men high in public favor; but for vigor of intellect, and the power to present things forcibly to the mind, he was compelled to say that Mr. Crawford was the greatest man he ever saw. -Miller's Bench and Bar, page 243. Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne said: "In astronomy or mathematics he would have been pre-eminent. No man in this or any other country had a more thorough and orthodox knowledge of political economy and especially of finance." -Ibid.

The Legislature elected Crawford delegates by a majority of about two to one.

General Clark's poisoned arrow was not the only shaft that was let fly at Crawford's vitals during this presidential campaign.

Ninian Edwards, lately Congressman from Illinois, had recently been appointed Minister to Mexico. He was on his way thither when Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, (on April 19th, 1824) presented to that body a voluminous communication from him charging illegalities and misconduct on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury, and calling for his impeachment. This communication was accompanied by ten numbers of a Washington newspaper containing articles signed "A. B.," and written for the purpose of defeating Mr. Crawford in the presidential election. The papers alleged that the charges were all susceptible of proof, and Edwards avowed their authorship. The communication, however, did not seem to contemplate an early investigation, and certainly not at that session of Congress, which was then nearing adjournment. The accuser was on his way to Mexico; the charges were grave; the specifications under them were numerous and complex, and many of them relating to transactions with the remote western banks. The evident expectation of the accuser was, that the matter would lie over until the next session, before which the presidential election would take place, and all the mischief be done to Mr. Crawford's name, resulting from unanswered accusations so imposingly laid before the impeaching branch of congress. The friends of Mr. Crawford saw the necessity of quick action, and Mr. Floyd of Virginia, upon the reading of the communication, moved that a committee be appointed to take it under immediate consideration, and that the committee be empowered to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, take testimony, and report to the house, with leave to sit after the adjournment, if the investigation was not finished before, and to publish their report. The committee was appointed and granted all the powers asked for. The selection of this committee by the Speaker was a task of delicacy and responsibility, Mr. Clay being himself a candidate for the Presidency, and each member of the house a friend to some one of the candidates, including the accused. The personnel of the committee was unexceptionable—Mr. Floyd, the mover, Mr. Livingston of Louisiana, Mr. Webster of Massachusetts, Mr. Randolph of Virginia, Mr. J. W. Taylor of New York, Mr. Duncan McArthur of Ohio, and Mr. Owen of Alabama. *

*Benton's Thirty Year's View, Vol. I, p. 35.

These charges, made in the midst of a heated campaign, naturally caused that degree of excitement which was to be expected.

The Secretary of State, with that inherent suspicion which ever attended him, believed the charges, and hastened to give advice to the President against the idea of sending an express for Edwards and recalling him to Washington, so as to give Crawford an immediate trial. The President, however, was impressed with a contrary opinion, and insisted that justice required an immediate investigation. The committee dispatched the Sergeant at Arms in fast pursuit of Edwards, and he was overtaken full fifteen hundred miles on his way. The time consumed in this post journey, however, was so great that Congress had adjourned before he was brought back to Washington.

The answer filed by Mr. Crawford to the charges was pronounced by Mr. Randolph to be "a triumphant and irresistible vindication; the most temperate, passionless, mild, dignified, irrefutable exposure of falsehood that ever met a base accusation, and without one harsh word toward their author."

Mr. Edwards was represented by his son-in-law, Mr. Cook, and was examined fully by the committee, but could prove nothing. The committee examined all the evidence to be had, and reported all of it with their findings. From the evidence it appeared that Edwards himself had contradicted all the accusations in the "A. B." papers, and had declared that no man in the government could have conducted the fiscal affairs of the nation with more integrity and propriety than Crawford had done. One of the witnesses before the committee was Senator Noble of Indiana, who testified: That he had had a conversation with Mr. Edwards, introduced by Mr. Edwards himself, concerning Mr. Crawford's management of the western banks, and the authorship of the "A. B." letters; that it was pending his nomination made by the President to the Senate as Minister to Mexico. He (Mr. Edwards) stated that he was about to be attacked in the Senate for the purpose of defeating his nomination; that party and political spirit was now high; that he understood charges would be exhibited against him, and that it had been so declared in the Senate. He further remarked that he knew me to be the decided friend of William H. Crawford, and said, 'I am considered as being his bitter enemy; and I am charged with being the author of the numbers signed 'A. B.'; but (raising his hand) I pledge you my honor I am not the author, nor do I

know who the author is.' 'Crawford and I,' said Mr. Edwards, 'have had a little difference, but I have always considered him a highminded, honorable and vigilant officer of the government. He has been abused about the western banks and the unavallable funds.' Leaning forward and extending his hands, he added: 'Now, damn it, you know we both live in states where there are many poor debtors of the government for lands, together with a deranged currency. The notes on various banks being depreciated after the effect and operation of the war in that portion of the Union, and the banks, by attempting to call in their paper (having exhausted their specie), the notes that were in circulation became of little or no value.' 'Many men of influence in that country,' said he, 'have united to induce the Secretary of the Treasury to select certain banks as banks of deposit, and take the notes of certain banks in payment for public land. Had he (Mr. Crawford) not done so many of our inhabitants would have been turned out of doors and lost their lands, and the people of the country would have had a universal disgust against Mr. Crawford.' 'And I will venture to say,' said Mr. Edwards, 'notwithstanding I am considered as his enemy, that no man in this government could have managed the fiscal and financial concerns of the government with more integrity and propriety than Mr. Crawford did.' He (Mr. Nobles) had never repeated this conversation to anyone until the evening of the day that Governor Edwards' communication was presented to the House of Representatives. On that evening, in conversation with several members of the House, amongst whom were Mr. Reid and Mr. Nelson, some of whom said that Governor Edwards had avowed himself to be the author of the 'A. B.' papers, and others said that he had not done so. I remarked that they must have misunderstood the 'address,' for Governor Edwards had pledged his honor to me that he was not the author of 'A. B.' "

There were other witnesses who testified to Edwards' denial of the authorship of these papers; among them the editors of the National Intelligencer of Washington, a newspaper friendly to Mr. Crawford. These editors testified that Mr. Edwards called at their office, the first time for a year, to exculpate himself from the imputed authorship, and that he did it so earnestly that they believed him, and had published, on their faith in his declarations, that they had good reason to know that he was not the author of the publications. The "good reason," they testified, was his own free, voluntary and unqualified denial at the time of his unexpected visit to their office.

The overwhelming testimony and the absence of anything to disprove it was fatal to the accuser.

The committee unanimously reported: "That nothing had been proved to impeach the integrity of the Secretary, or to bring into doubt the general correctness and ability of his administration of the public finances."

Congress and the country accepted the committee's findings as correct. Ninian Edwards left Washington in disgrace, resigned his commission, which he had dishonored, and disappeared forever from public view. So ended the "A. B" plot which had filled the newspapers for twelve months in vilest abuse and calumny, and of which the accused was so honorably vindicated. The most exalted hopes of man's nature can but feel pleasurable delight at a triumph of innocence and so overwhelming a discomfiture of its assailant.

There was one matter connected with this affair which gave Mr. Crawford keen mental anguish. The newspaper that published these unfounded and cruel slanders constantly for a whole year was edited by a war office clerk, employed and retained by John C. Calhoun; the newspaper was operated entirely in Calhoun's interest and supported and subsidized by him. These two illustrious statesmen and erstwhile school-fellows, who had played town ball and marbles and gathered nuts together under the spreading trees; who had read and discussed the choicest books as students in that isolated country library of Dr. Waddell's, were never again to view each other except in bonds of bitterness. Hereafter there was to be nothing in common between them except irrevocable political antagonism.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824.

From the peculiar circumstances attending the Presidential contest in 1824 it became more spirited and was characterized by more virulence than any that had taken place since the first election of Mr. Jefferson. One of its novel features consisted in the number of candidates presented, and the further fact that all of these were of the same political creed, which caused the issues to be formed on sectional and personal lines.

The distracting question of admitting Missouri as a slave state had aroused sectional controversy as no other subject had done.

At the hospitable home of Mr. Crawford in Washington it was the pleasure of such congenial spirits as Randolph,

Macon, McLean, Holmes, Lowndes, and other Congressmen to gather once or twice each week and spend an hour in social intercourse. At a time when the Missouri Compromise Resolutions were pending a visitor from Georgia thus records one of these intellectual treats which he attended. Mr. Crawford in his conversation remarked:

"If the Union is of more importance to the South than slavery the South should immediately take measures for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, fixing a period for its final extinction. But if the institution of slavery is of more vital importance than the perpetuation of the Union to the South she should at once secede and establish a government to protect and preserve this institution. She now has the power to do so without the fear of provoking a war. Her people should be unanimous, and this agitation has made them so, I believe. I know the love of the Union has been paramount to every other consideration with the Southern people, but they view, as I do, this attempt to arrest the further spread of slavery as aggressive on the part of congress, and discover an alarming state of the northern mind upon this subject. This with an increasing popular strength may grow into proportions which shall be irresistible and the South may be ultimately forced to do what she never will voluntarily do—abolish at once the institution."

It was urged by Mr. Holmes that the Constitution guaranteed slavery to the states; that its control and destiny was alone with the states, and there was no danger that the North would ever violate the Constitution to interfere with that which they had no interest.

"Never violate the Constitution!" said Randolph, in an excited and querulous tone. "Mr. Holmes, you perhaps know the nature of your people better than I do, but I know them well enough not to trust them. They stickle at nothing to accomplish an end; and their preachers can soon convince them that slavery is a sin, and that they are responsible for its existence here, and that they can only propitiate offended Deity by its abolition. You are a peculiar people, Holmes, prone to fanaticism upon all subjects, and this fanaticism concentrated as a religious duty the Constitution will only prove a barrier of straw. No sir, I am unwilling to trust them. They want honesty of purpose, have no sincerity, no patriotism, no principle. Your dough-faces will profess, but at a point will fly the track, sir; they can't stand, sir; they can't stand pressing. Interest, interest, sir, is their moving motive. Do you not see it in their action in this matter? Missouri is a fertile and lovely country; they want it for the purpose of settlement with their own people. Prohibit slavery to the inhabitants and no Southern man will go there; there will be no competition in the purchase of her land. Your people will have it all to themselves; they will flock to it like wild geese, and very soon it is a northern state in northern interest; and step after step all the western territory will be in your possession, and you will create states ad libitum. You

know the Constitution permits two-thirds of the states to amend or alter it; establish the principle that congress can exclude slavery from a territory, contrary to the wishes of her people expressed in a constitution formed by them for their government, and how long will it be before two-thirds of the states will be free? Then you can change the Constitution and place slavery under the control of congress; and, under such circumstances, how long will it be permitted to remain in any state?

"Your people are too religious, sir; eminently practical, inventive, restless, cold, calculating, malicious and ambitious; invent curious rat-traps, and establish missions. I don't want to be trapped, sir; I am too wary a rat for that; and think with Mr. Crawford, now is the time for separation, and I mean to ask Clay to unite with us. Yet, sir, I have not spoken to the fellow for years, sir; but I will tomorrow; I will tell him I always despised him, but if he will go to his people, I will to mine, and tell them now is the time for separation from you; and I will follow his lead if he will only do so, if it leads me to perdition. I never did follow it, but in this matter I will. I bid you good night, gentlemen."

He waited for no reply, but taking his hat and whip, hurriedly left the room.

"Can Mr. Randolph be in earnest?" asked several. "Intensely so," replied Mr. Crawford. "Mr. Holmes, your people are forcing Mr. Randolph's opinions upon the entire South. They will not permit northern intermeddling with that which peculiarly interests themselves, and over which they alone hold control."

There was a pause, the party was uneasy. There were more than Mr. Holmes present who were startled at both Crawford's and Randolph's speculation as to the value of the Union. They had ever felt that this was anchored safely in every American breast, and was paramount to every other consideration or interest. It was a terrible heresy, and leading to treason. This was not said, but it was thought, and in no very agreeable mood the party separated for the night.*

Randolph did propose to Clay, as stated, but at that time he was too much imbued with the idea that he had found in the Missouri Compromise a measure that would allay matters for all time to listen to Mr. Randolph's proposals. †

Of all the candidates Crawford was the most pronounced advocate of state rights; Adams and Clay were most antagonistic to this doctrine, and Jackson was non-committal. The friends of Mr. Adams urged his elevation to the presidency on the ground of locality. Thirty-six years had passed since the adoption of the Constitution, and it was urged that during only four years of this time was the government administered by a northern President. The southern influence was

*Sparks' Memoirs of 50 Years, page 230.

†Sargent's Life of Clay, page 32.

opposed by the North, and while on every other issue the New Englanders may have divided, yet on this they presented an unbroken front for their candidate. All New England was for Adams. On the other hand not one vote was cast for him by any one of the great southern slave-holding states. The favorite mode of electioneering seems to have been for the candidates or their friends to issue pamphlets for general circulation. Among the voters of each state these pamphlets proclaimed the views of their author's favorites and decried the pretensions of the other candidates in no uncertain terms. In those issued by General Jackson's friends in the Carolinas and elsewhere Crawford was attacked as being a Federalist. To be called a Federalist was regarded at this time the greatest insult, so opprobrious had the name become in the eyes of the average voter. * These pamphlets pointed as proof to certain resolutions adopted at a meeting of the young men of Augusta, Ga., on July 2nd, 1798. These resolutions expressed confidence in the policy of Mr. Adams and a pledge of all those present to support the administration against the aggressions of the French Government. † The meeting was composed of members of all political parties, and the resolutions were of a patriotic tenor, breathing defiance to the enemies of the Republic. Mr. Crawford was chairman of the committee of five who drafted the resolutions, and it was claimed they were composed by him. The address was written at a time when the country was deeply incensed against the French Directory.

This charge of the indorsement of the administration of John Adams was a fruitful topic of misrepresentation and abuse by the Jacksonian pamphleteers. ** The answer of Crawford was dignified and convincing. He urged that at that time the administration of Mr. Adams was not yet tarnished by those acts of fatuity and violence which subsequently brought down upon it the opposition of the people; that party distinction was not so marked as to be remembered in the overflow of patriotic feeling at a meeting like this—called to devise action against the injurious attacks of France on our commerce. That in this meeting, although a young man, he was recognized as a decided Republican and appointed as such on the committee.

The act levying a direct tax was passed by Congress on July 14th, 1798, the sedition act on the same day, and the

* Letters of Wyoming on Campaign of 1824.

† See Appendix.

** Jacksonian Pamphlet by South Carolinian, Raleigh, N. C. 1822.

act punishing correspondence with persons abroad was not passed until the 30th of January, 1799. That after the adoption of these resolutions and when the measures passed to repel the violence of France were carried to an extremity which evinced a disposition to trample on the Constitution under the mask of securing the public safety—he was found in the ranks of the opposition, and bent the whole of his energy to the election of Jefferson. That he had been always unwavering in the support of Democracy, and that it was absurd and unjust to oppose a single act of this sort—at most an act of youthful indiscretion—to the uniform tenor of a long life spent in the public service. *

Decisive as this answer appears it was unavailing, and the charges were repeated with telling effect. In North Carolina and New Jersey, and other states where he was much stronger than any one of the other candidates, there was formed a combination of all forces against him, and in this way the votes of those states were dragooned into the Jackson column.

To those who wish to dive deeper in the mysteries of President-making the following letter will prove interesting. It was written by a senator from Georgia with such joyful gusto as to stir the blood as it gladdens the spirit and paints the horizon in happy colors. Although obviously not written for the public eye this confidential partisan letter sheds a light on a memorable epoch that in no other way could cause it to be so well understood:

JOHN ELLIOTT TO GENERAL BLACKSHEAR.

PHILADELPHIA, September 4, 1822.

My dear sir:—

After a rough passage of seven days we landed in New York. I found this state, as usual, much agitated by factions. Mr. Calhoun's friends are making violent efforts here to weaken Mr. Crawford's influence, in the vain hope of securing the vote of this great state in support of their favorite. They have so far succeeded as to have seduced from his engagements to advocate Mr. Crawford the editor of "The Patriot" and turned his press in favor of Mr. Calhoun. But this shameful defection on the part of the editor has already deprived him of the patronage of the principal Republicans of the City of New York, and will very shortly consign the paper to deserved insignificance. The efforts of this press have produced no unfavorable impressions on the public sentiment. New York and the great body of Republicans are decidedly friendly to Mr. Crawford's success. Connecticut is

*Life of W. H. Crawford, pamphlet by Americanus, p. 6.

vacillating; but I have the most positive assurance from my friends there that she will come out in due time for us.

Mr. Crawford's most violent political enemy, Mr. Edwards, has been left out of Congress in the late elections in Illinois; and two of the Representatives who were last winter opposed to him have recently advocated his election before the people. From Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont we shall obtain in caucus a much greater support than our enemies are aware of; and I think we may safely calculate on twenty votes from this section of the nation. In caucus, New York may be depended on for twenty-eight votes. New Jersey is now much divided, but will certainly give us six votes. The people of Pennsylvania are evidently in favor of General Jackson; but, as they have generally admitted the necessity of supporting the caucus candidate, the friends of Mr. Crawford wink at their present predilections, knowing that the General cannot be nominated, and believing that Mr. Crawford must ultimately receive the vote as the caucus candidate. In the caucus, however, we shall receive from this State seven votes at least. Delaware is with us. Maryland is not fixed, but will surely lend us her support with five votes. Mr. Crawford's strength, then, in caucus may be fairly thus estimated, viz:

From New England, 20 votes; from New York, 28; New Jersey, 6; Pennsylvania, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 5; Virginia, 24; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 2 certainly, and should Mr. Calhoun withdraw, or be dropped, 7 votes; Georgia, 9; Ohio, 1; Indiana, 2; Illinois, 2; Mississippi, 2; Tennessee, 2 at least, making an aggregate of one hundred and twenty votes, which will be a majority of the Republican members. And should any of the other candidates withdraw, or be dropped by their friends, the number will receive considerable accession. For no combination of interest can be formed to prejudice the standing and prospects of Mr. Crawford; the West can never be induced to support Mr. Adams, nor will the Republicans of the East, in the absence of Mr. Adams, prefer Mr. Clay or General Jackson to Mr. Crawford. I consider Mr. Crawford's success, then, as more than probable; and, in forming this opinion I think I have not suffered my wishes, strong as they are, to influence my judgment.

In conformity to your wishes expressed in your letter just received, I have given you the preceding view of the Presidential question. As our success greatly depends on a caucus nomination, it will be proper to conceal from our adversaries our real strength until the moment of trial. Our friends in Georgia may be made acquainted with these facts, but they must be kept from the newspapers.

Mr. Forsyth is here, and we improve every occasion to strengthen our friends and weaken our adversaries. Our situation enables us to act sometimes very efficiently in this regard.

The prospect of Colonel Troup's success is highly gratifying to me and I hope no untoward circumstance may occur to lessen his well-deserved influence with people.

As it respects myself, I am quite disposed to leave the propriety of my re-election to the judgment of my friends,

I was urged in the most flattering manner by those in the eastern district, whose opinions and wishes I greatly respect, not to leave public life at this time; and having been induced to ask for a re-election, I should be gratified by a liberal support. It is probable I may continue here until the meeting of congress, occasionally visiting Jersey and the upper part of the state, as political appearances may render it necessary. And, although you are not fond of writing, I hope you will indulge me with an occasional letter.

My correspondence is very extensive, and I always write in great haste. Offer my best regards to Colonel Troup when you see him, and believe me most cordially.

Your friend,

J. ELLIOTT.

At the time this letter bears date Crawford's chances were in the ascendancy. His election seemed almost a certainty. The mode of concentrating public opinion on one candidate as heretofore practiced had been by a regular caucus held by members of Congress to make the nomination for the party. Although this manner of nomination had been followed with approbation and satisfaction in previous presidential campaigns, at this time it was destined to bring upon the nominees the opposition of all the other candidates. It was known that Mr. Crawford had the largest number of friends in Congress, and would assuredly receive the nomination. The other candidates, therefore, refused to go into it; all joined in opposing the "caucus candidate," as Mr. Crawford was called. * Notwithstanding Clay, Calhoun and Adams had been active participants in the caucus nominations heretofore, and notably in the one that nominated Mr. Monroe, they did not on this account refrain from proclaiming that these caucuses were odious, intriguing, and corrupting, and declared the anomaly of members of congress entering them. † Crawford's friends, however, believed that the established usage should not be departed from, and that the standard of democratic orthodoxy required a nomination in the only tried and approved way known to the party. To abandon this fixed tenet of republicanism would in this instance be the relinquishment of that support as a party candidate to which Mr. Crawford's wide popularity entitled him.

Crawford was now fifty-one years of age, and in the prime of his intellectual power and physical manhood. The

*Benton's Thirty Year's View, Vol. I, page 48.

†Crawford, in a letter to Bolling Hall, written at this time, and now on file in State Department of Archives and History of Alabama states: "Great exertions are making to prevent a Congressional caucus. Your old friend, McLean, declares that a caucus will destroy the man in whose favor it may terminate. Calhoun, his patron, attended the caucus in 1812 and 1816, as you know—Mr. Clay did the same, and Mr. Adams attended that in 1806—yet they are decidedly hostile to a caucus. 'It is anti-Republican; it is robbing the people of their rights; it will destroy any man who supports it.' *Tempora mutantur et mutamur cum illis.*"

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intense interest and co-operation in his behalf of so many influential friends throughout the union; and the pulse of popular favor seemed to beat auspiciously in unison with his fondest dream, and to augur success.

But that towering mind, that majestic physique, that stalwart vigorous frame, with its burning spirit within, that magnetic voice, flashing blue eyes and enchanting smile were in one dire moment to forever lose their gladsome glory and brilliancy. Full of sanguine hope and bouyant life and on the very threshold of the highest attainable honors, the dreaded paralysis strikes him low. To be shorn of strength just as "manhood's morn touches noon," when he possessed the prudence of age and the warmth of youth; to be palsied when he was strongest; to see the door of hope closed while life still remained, must have been excruciating agony—a doom worse than death. *

The circumstances indicate, however, that he never realized the full force of the attack. He would not retire from the contest, nor would his friends consent that he should do so. For a time his speech and sight were gone, his nervous system was shattered, and he lost the use of his lower limbs. He was removed from the city to a delightful cottage in the country in the hope that the balmy country air would induce convalescence. There was a gradual return of sight and speech, but the intellect never regained its full tone and power; this was beyond human skill to accomplish.

Then followed the sorry spectacle of too eager partisans contending over the body of their stricken chief who had fallen with his face to the goal. His friends and physician hoped, believed and asserted expectations of an early recovery. The rival newspapers, through no lack of design on their part, did not exaggerate his condition when they described it as pitiable.

The state Democracy, at a large meeting in Philadelphia, recommended a congressional caucus to choose a candidate for the presidency. This plan would not have been further opposed, perhaps, had it not been for the fact that the Legislature of Alabama, just at this time, nominated Andrew Jackson and declared against a congressional caucus. † This action caused many to waiver, and "that which had been the most effectual means of party triumph was now reprobated as tyrannical and unjust. The true objection was, that it would

*This paralysis was caused by a dose of lobelia administered by an unskilled physician in treating erysipelas during a temporary absence of Mr. Crawford from Washington.

†Quincy's Life of J. Q. Adams, p. 183.

crush the hopes of all the aspirants except those of Mr. Crawford. Their friends, on this account, refused to submit their pretensions to its umpirage. "A strong representation of the old democratic party, however, met in caucus and nominated Mr. Crawford, and might probably have elected him had not their candidate lost his influence with his health." *

The call for a Democratic caucus to meet on January 14th, 1824, in the House of Representatives was published in the National Intelligencer of Washington as follows:

"The Democratic members of Congress are invited to meet in the Representatives' Chamber at the Capitol on the evening of the 14th of February at seven o'clock to recommend candidates to the people of the United States for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States."

This call was signed by ten congressmen, among whom were Mr. Forsyth; but Mr. Van Buren's name was not on it. There was a packed gallery of visitors, yet the attendance of members was so small that a motion to postpone was made, but voted down. Mr. Van Buren, in opposing the motion, stated that it would be impossible to fix any time to suit all to attend. The people were anxiously waiting for a nomination, and he felt confident a large portion of the Republicans of the Union were decidedly in favor of this mode of nomination, and that it was quite time it should be made.

On the balloting for President Crawford received sixty-four votes, Adams two, Nathaniel Macon one, Jackson one. The balloting for Vice-President showed Albert Gallatin fifty-seven, Adams one, Erastus Root two, Samuel Smith one, William Eustis one, Walter Lowndes one, John Todd one, Rufus King one, Richard Rush one.

When Crawford and Gallatin were declared nominated the galleries applauded. A clerk from the war office seated in the gallery led a small coterie who mingled their hisses with the applause of the people.

The disheartening effects of the caucus in which there were only sixty-eight of the two hundred and sixty-one members of Congress represented, and the continued severe illness of Crawford was chilling to the ardor of his friends. The rival candidates were greatly encouraged, as their drooping hopes were revived as never before. Every state was now in earnest contention. New York was a seething cauldron, and while in the beginning of the campaign it appeared to be for Crawford, it had become disaffected. The caucus nomination was received there with some disapprobation, and every machination that could be devised by the ingenuity of his

*Political Mirror, p. 9.

enemies was brought to defeat Crawford in this state. Van Buren, although a dexterous politician and very popular, was not able to overcome the concentrated opposition of Crawford's rivals here. His personal attachment for Crawford had for a long time been great, and now when enemies were about to triumph over him his eminent ability and friendly exertion were brought to bear to procure his election and hold this state in his favor—but in vain. The friends of Crawford in far away Georgia felt a kind remembrance for the work done by Van Buren in the interest of their stricken chief, and without any thought or solicitation from him, and indeed without his knowledge, nominated him for Vice-President. It was a spontaneous tribute from grateful hearts to a faithful friend. Only five of New York's thirty-six electoral votes remained steadfast to Crawford—the others were divided among his rivals.

There was a great clamor against the nomination of Mr. Gallatin for the Vice-Presidency because he was not a native of the United States. He finally withdrew his name by publishing the following card:

FAYETTE COUNTY, PA., Oct. 2nd, 1824.

Understanding that the withdrawal of my name may have a favorable effect on the result of the approaching election of President and Vice-President of the United States, I request that I may no longer be considered a candidate for the office of Vice-President.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

This withdrawal inured to the advantage of Calhoun, who was now the sole avowed candidate for the Vice-Presidency; but Crawford's chances were not enhanced thereby.

There arose in this campaign a bitterness between Georgia and her sister state, Carolina, which became intense. If there was a public gathering in either state the harmony of the occasion was always marred when there were representatives present from both states. With the young gallants this strife frequently led to blows, and on several occasions to deadly strife. During the campaign an article in an Augusta newspaper reflected severely upon Mr. Crawford. This article was published in reply to several anti-Calhoun papers signed "C", and which were written by the gifted poet Richard H. Wild, who was then a Congressman from Georgia. * These articles were erroneously attributed to Col. William Cumming of Augusta, Ga. Cumming was a proud, austere, intrepid and talented gentleman. He was not a man to be so severely badgered by an anonymous writer. He demanded of the

*Sparks' Memoirs of Fifty Years, p. 84.

editor the name of the unknown correspondent, and that of Hon. George McDuffie, the distinguished statesman of South Carolina, was given. McDuffie was a partisan and protegee of Calhoun, and a gentleman of talent and character. A duel was the result, and McDuffie received a wound in the small of his back, where the bullet lodged after it had penetrated his silk lined coat. This wound eventually caused his death. The Augusta Chronicle, in giving a purported authentic account of this affair, and as a reason why the ball did not penetrate deeper, stated:

"Cumming's pistol was loaded for the side, not for the back, and for the resistance of common drapery, not for several folds of strong silk, etc." *

The extreme illness of Crawford continued. The canvass, however, was carried on with unabated vigor. There being four candidates in the field, it became practically certain that no election could be had by the people, and it was a matter of uncertainty as to which would be the three highest to go into the House of Representatives under the constitutional provision. Clay had confidently counted on Louisiana, but the hero of New Orleans was too dear to memory to be so soon forgotten, and this state fell into the Jackson column.

As an original proposition Clay was undoubtedly more favorable to Mr. Crawford than to either of the other remaining candidates. † By a personal visit to Mr. Crawford he had not satisfied himself but that he was too broken down in health to discharge with fitting energy the duties of the chief magistracy. * * * The selection, unless Crawford's health improved, lay between Jackson and Adams. Notwithstanding Clay's old time hostility to Jackson on the Seminole question in 1819, and notwithstanding Clay had severely denounced his views on internal improvement and the tariff as vacillating and unfixed, yet a great effort was made to secure his support on the ground that Jackson was a western man. When at Ghent as commissioners, Clay and Adams had some serious differences on matters of public policy; their natures and views were so entirely dissimilar that there was much speculation as to whether Clay would ever cast the weight of his influence with Adams.

The result of the votes of the electors was as follows:

*Sabine's Notes on Duelling, p. 242.

†Sparks' Memoirs of 50 Years.

**Sargent's Life of Clay, page 86.

	FOR PRESIDENT				FOR VICE-PRESIDENT					
	Adams	Crawford	Jackson	Clay	Calhoun	Mason	Jackson	Sanford	Clay	Van Buren
Maine	9				9					
New Hampshire	8				7		1			
Massachusetts	15				15					
Rhode Island	4				3					
Connecticut	8						8			
Vermont	7				7					
New York	26	6	1	4	29			7		
New Jersey			3		3					
Pennsylvania			23		23					
Delaware	1	2			1				2	
Maryland	3	1	7		10		1			
Virginia		24				24				
North Carolina			15		15					
South Carolina			11		11					
Georgia		9								9
Kentucky				14	7			7		
Tennessee			11		11					
Ohio				16				16		
Louisiana	2		3		5					
Mississippi			3		3					
Indiana			5		5					
Illinois	1		2		3					
Alabama			5		5					
Missouri				3			3			
	84	41	47	37	132	24	13	30	2	9

This placed Jackson, Crawford and Adams the three highest, and left the election to be determined by the House of Representatives at its next session.

Clay was thrown out of the contest, but like Thaddeus of Warsaw, while he could not crown himself, yet it was with him to place the crown on the head of another. He it was that possessed the power to make the next President.

Then it was that party spirit ran highest. Every club in Washington and in the large cities became a caucus. Every hotel in Washington was a lobby. Congressmen thought of nothing else. Nothing else was talked or written about. The newspapers teemed with this subject. The friends of General

Jackson eagerly advanced the undemocratic and untenable doctrine that plurality of votes for any one candidate should be considered as decisive—in other words, a mere plurality, they urged, should swallow up a majority.

Senator Nathaniel Macon, on January 7th, 1825, thus writes from Washington to Judge Charles Tait:

"Who will be elected President by the House of Representatives is uncertain as it ever has been since it was known the House would have to make the election. I incline to the opinion that the General has the best chance of success.

"The friends of Crawford will support him as long as it shall be deemed necessary. It is not known for whom the friends of Clay will vote. * * * I have heard that Calhoun was in favor of the election of General Jackson." *

Congress convened in December, 1824, amid a glamor of intense excitement, but general legislation received little attention, for the minds of the members were too absorbed in the pending election.

On January 15th following, Senator Thomas W. Cobb wrote to a constituent in Georgia a letter which outlines very clearly the situation:

"Doubtless, in common with others, you feel the greatest anxiety about the Presidential election. Recently few changes have been manifested on that subject. Everything has depended, and does depend on the course which the western states friendly to Mr. Clay may take. Should they join us, even to the number of two, the game is not desperate. It is impossible to decide with certainty whether they will do so. Their conduct has been extremely mysterious and doubtful. At one time they led us to believe they would unite with us; at another they are antipodal. Two days ago we received the news that the Kentucky Legislature had instructed their representatives to vote for Jackson. This information has brought out five of them who will do so; the others (seven) have not yet declared. Ohio is divided, but this morning I have the positive declaration of one of their most honest and intelligent members that they have determined not to vote for Jackson. But it is not settled how they will go between Crawford and Adams. The objections made by those friendly to us in both Kentucky and Ohio have their root in the state of Crawford's health. He is very fat, but his speech and vision are imperfect, and the paralysis of his hand continues. His speech improves slowly. His right eye is so improved that he sees well enough to play whist as well as an old man without spectacles. His hand also gets stronger. Yet defect in all these members is but too evident. My brother-in-law, Mr. Scott, has not positively promised to support him, but I think he has made up his mind to do so. So also do I think of Mr. Rankin. If, however, I am deceived in all these calculations (in which I think I am not) General Jackson will be elected on the first ballot. It is true Maryland and Louisiana

*The original of this letter in possession of Mrs. Mary Tait Beck, of Alabama.

are now said to be divided, but I doubt not they will unite on Jackson, which, with the Western states, secures his success, inasmuch as he would have New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. New York is yet settled for no one. We count sixteen certain; we want two to make a majority, and these we shall get, as I am told by an intelligent member, Mr. Clarke, upon whose judgment I would sooner rely than on Van Buren's.

"Should one or two western states withhold their vote from Jackson, Crawford's election is probable. The New England states are in excessive alarm. We have told them that Mr. Adams has no right to calculate on any support from us. This is in some measure true. Jackson's strength is such that Adams can gain nothing from him. The Yankees are determined that a President shall be made.

"New Jersey is willing to join us, if success becomes probable, and I am assured that five out of six of New England will do so, too, when Adams' prospects are blasted. Should Crawford be elected it will be by a combination of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky or Ohio. Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, have nailed their flag, and will sink with the ship. New England, if they wish to prevent the election of Jackson (and they say they do), must come to us, for we will not go to them. Colonel Benton is active in our cause, and is likely to do us good. Could we hit upon a few great principles, and unite their support with that of Crawford, we should succeed beyond doubt. But the fact is, we are as much divided as any other people. On the whole, I do not feel alarmed, though I am not confident. Here they call me croaker. I say I will not express a confidence which I do not feel." *

When this letter was written Congress had been in session some six weeks. All eyes turned now to Henry Clay, who maintained a politic reserve which the most curious could not penetrate. The fact that Kentucky was a slave state was used as an argument to induce Clay to oppose Adams.

That shrewd politician and editor, N. W. Noah, of New York, wrote at this time a confidential letter to James Monroe, in which he states:

"We cannot be insensible to the fact that the South and West have hitherto united to decide the presidential question when the middle states have been balancing and divided. * * * * * We all admit that the Presidency is considered a state honor—that is to say, the state is honored and favored and incidental advantages are derived from the choice of one of its citizens. Will the Democratic party confer this honor on Massachusetts? A rebellious state during the late war, a state in which the Hartford convention was conceived and permitted to hold a solemn session, a state which refused to

*Cobb's Leisure Labors, page 214.

place her militia at the disposal of the general government in the hour of national calamity, which has been the cause of great uneasiness, and has given you during the war and in the discharge of your painful and unremitting duties great cause of censure and complaint? * * * The unwearied exertions made by the Eastern states to create geographical distinction, and promote sectional interest on the slavery question and on the particular act for the admission of Missouri have united the Southern people on this cardinal point against the Massachusetts candidate." *

The Crawford party kept up a dignified canvass before the country, but no longer expected the support of Clay. The Adams contingent kept fully informed of Crawford's wretched health, continued electioneering in a quiet way best calculated to produce results.

When the ice-waterisms of Adams became the talk of the people he was urged to be more considerate and conciliatory, in order to dispel accusations regarding his cold, selfish nature. It was related of him that his followers prevailed upon him to attend a cattle show at Worcester, Mass., in order to mingle with the people and cultivate cordiality of manner. A farmer of that section, a man of substance and respectability, on being presented to him said:

"Mr. Adams, I am very glad to see you: My wife, when she was a gal, lived in your father's family. You were then a little boy, and she has told me a great deal about you. She very often combed your head."

"Well," said Mr. Adams, in his harsh way, "I suppose she combs yours now."

The poor farmer slunk back like a lashed hound, feeling the smart, but utterly unconscious of the provocation.†

The Jackson party, on the other hand, were not wanting in any of the artifices of shrewd politics. Realizing now that Clay held the mastery of the situation, they coaxed, flattered, and cajoled in vain. Not these, nor intimidations could avail them. When gradually it began to dawn upon them that Clay and his friends were likely to support the hated Adams their rage knew no bounds. The General and his partisans uttered maledictions without regard to decency, and seemed to forget all propriety in their zeal and vindictiveness. The hoarse whispers of a bargain and sale, intrigue and corruption, began to be uttered by them against Clay and Adams with a malevolence unparalleled in partisan politics.

The 9th of February, 1825, was appointed by Congress to make that election which the electoral college had failed to do. The House set for this day an earlier hour than usual

*This letter from copy of original furnished by Dr. U. B. Phillips.

†Goodrich's Recollections of a Lifetime, Vol. rI, p. 404.

for its meeting. Every lodging place, hotel and boarding house in Washington was filled with visitors to the city. The stage coaches that ran to the capital were all crowded with people from every one of the twenty-four states composing the Union. Numbers came from every direction in all sorts of vehicles, and hundreds rode great distances on horseback. They were bent on viewing the representatives of the people in the exercise of the highest right of freemen to select a citizen to administer the government of a great Republic. This cold, stormy February day was to mark a most exciting, and yet a most peaceful event. Every man seemed to vie with his neighbor in electioneering for some one of the candidates. The galleries, lobbies and every vacant place about the capital were packed to such an extent as to be stifling. Many of those present recalled the great seven days' deadlock of a quarter of a century before, when Burr and Jefferson were the candidates before this same assembly. No expectation existed that the election would be decided the first day. It was supposed that the balloting would be continued for many days, if not throughout the remainder of the session.

In a less stable government than ours the excitement engendered by this furious contest between rival chiefs would have produced sedition, rebellion, or armed interference. Nothing of the sort, however, was hinted at. There was an absence of soldiery, and there prevailed a spirit of allegiance felt and expressed by the multitude. Henry Clay, in the Speaker's chair, solemnly rapped the House to order. The roll was called, and the vote taken by states, as required by law. The ballots were counted out amid painful suspense, and the result declared as follows:

For John Quincy Adams—Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, Louisiana—13.

For Andrew Jackson—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Indiana—7.

For William H. Crawford—Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia—4.

It appeared that Adams had received just the necessary complement, and was declared duly and constitutionally elected.

CHAPTER XVII.

WOODLAWN.

Beside a blazing fire in the drawing room of his suburban home sat Crawford surrounded by his family. Aware of the attractions at the capital, they had little fear this day of being interrupted by visitors. The subject of the election, however, was scarcely thought of by them. We quote from a writer who was a close friend of Crawford, who gives an admirable picture of his domestic life:

"I dreamed last night, papa, that I had churned a fine batch of butter, which I brought in my milk pail to show you, and which you praised as the best butter that you had ever eaten."

"And I dreamed," said the other daughter, "that I was in our garden at Woodlawn gathering strawberries."

"It is more than likely, girls, that your dreams will come true," answered their father.

"I do wish they would," said the mother. "I am sure we should be far happier at home than we could ever be in the White House."

"How can you say so?" exclaimed a domestic friend who was present. "After a struggle of two years defeat will be very hard to bear. Even in a game of chess it requires some philosophy to take it patiently."

"I cannot deny it," answered Mrs. Crawford. "It is only the mortification of defeat I care for. On every other account most sincerely do I wish we may go to Woodlawn instead of the White House. I am sure we shall be far happier."

"Let us have our book," said Mr. Crawford. "And while one of you read to me I will likewise have a game of chess with one of the boys."

The book was so interesting that the election going on at the capital was forgotten. The storm continued raging. It looked gloomy out of doors, but bright, warm and cheerful within. The snow prevented the sound of wheels from being heard, and before any one was aware of the approach of a carriage the door opened and Asbury Dickens entered. The suddenness of his entrance made every one start. His face was flushed with emotion, his manner hurried.

"Hundreds wanted to be in haste to bring good tidings," said he, "but here I come with bad news. Adams is chosen on the first ballot."

"Is it possible!" exclaimed Mr. Crawford, "I thought it would have been Jackson. Well, I am glad it is over."

Not a change of tone or of countenance evinced any deep or poignant feeling, and being "glad it was over" was a declaration as natural as it was sincere—for suspense is of

all states of mind the most intolerable. The family received the information with as little emotion as Mr. Crawford.

"Well," observed Mrs. Crawford, "one thing consoles me—the disappointment is of God, and not of man, for had Mr. Crawford been in good health it would not have been so."

Soon afterward another carriage drove to the door. Mr. Lowry came in, looking very much cast down, and shaking Mr. Crawford's outstretched hand, said in a voice as melancholy as his countenance, "It is all over!"

Mr. Cobb, who had accompanied him, was so much agitated he could not immediately see Mr. Crawford, but went into the diningroom. Mrs. Crawford and her daughters went to him; he shook their hands, and brushing away the tears, which in spite of his endeavors would gush to his eyes, "well, girls," said he, "you may pack up as soon as you please."

He could say no more; his voice was suffocated by emotion. His feelings were those of a tender and ardently attached friend, not those of a disappointed politician.

"Come," said Miss Caroline, shaking hands with him, "you may as well laugh as cry; come in and see papa, but not with that gloomy face."

It was sometime, however, before he could control his feelings. At last he went into the drawingroom, laughing and clapping his hands as if in great exultation, calling out, "Adams has it! Adams has it! Hurrah for Adams!"

Mr. Crawford took his offered hand, and smiled as he said:

"Why, Cobb, you are laughing on the wrong side of your mouth."

"As well laugh as cry," answered he, rubbing his hands.

"Your laugh, however, looks very much like a cry," replied his friend, laughing at the same time himself at Mr. Cobb's wry faces.

"No more drawing-rooms, young ladies," said Mr. Cobb, turning to the girls; "you may go home to the dairy and learn to make butter and cheese and spin cotton for your own clothes."

"My dream will come true after all," said Miss Caroline.

"And what shall I do?" said a little girl of seven years old.

"You? Lord knows; pick cotton seed I suppose."

"No, no," said the fond mother, "she shall reel the cotton yarn. I have a pretty little reel that goes 'click, click.'"

The child jumped for joy.

"And as for you," continued the mother, taking her youngest in her arms, "you, darling, shall hold the spools."

"And what are we to do?" cried the boys.

"Why, go to the plough, to be sure, all except—we must have one gentleman in the family, so he must be the lawyer."

And while everyone quietly seated themselves to listen to the detailed account, given by one of the gentlemen, of the mode in which the business had been conducted, and of the causes that produced this unexpected result, which narration was often interrupted by exclamations from Mr. Cobb: "Treachery! treachery!"

"Hush, hush," said Miss Caroline, "do not use such rash words; hard names and bad words will not alter the matter."

"It is enough to ruffle the temper of a better man than I," reiterated Mr. Cobb. "Such treachery and cowardice!"

Among other incidents, one of the gentlemen mentioned that Mr. Randolph, who counted the ballots, after announcing the result, exclaimed: "It was impossible to win the game, gentlemen—the cards were packed."

"And that," said Mr. Cobb, "is the fact. The people have been tricked out of the man of their choice."

About tea time four or five other Senators and members came in. The conversation naturally turned on the events of the day. Each had some interesting, characteristic incident to relate. What developments, what machinery—wheel within wheel, and all put into motion by the mainspring. One mind, one individual, governing and directing the actions of others, who, perhaps, never suspect themselves of being the mere agents of the master spirit.

The President elected by the people! The President elected by the House of Representatives! an article of the Constitution—a fine theoretical principle. But it is the fact. Forms of government may vary and modify the modes of human life, but cannot change the principles of human nature; and from the savage hordes who roam the wilderness, unclothed and unhoused, to the most civilized and enlightened communities, the few ever have and ever will govern the many. The sub-divisions of society move like satellites round the central luminary. It is an elementary principle which no forms of government can subvert. But my pen is wandering from its humble path.

The tea table was removed—cards and chess were introduced, and parties arranged for the different games, which were played without much interruption to conversation.

That ease which certainly, after long induced suspense, imparts to the mind is so pleasurable a sensation that for a time it is a compensation for disappointment and defeat. Relieved from the pressure of anxiety, the spirits of the company rose with an elastic force, and everyone seemed inspired

with an unusual degree of gaiety; but, whatever the cause, the fact was certain that they were very merry, and joked and laughed in all honesty and sincerity. Two of the gentlemen said they would look into the President's drawingroom and return and report what they might see and hear. It was near eleven o'clock when they came back. The concourse was so great that it was with difficulty they had effected their entrance—the mass so compact that individuals could scarcely move, but were carried along by the pressure of the crowd without any agency of their own.

"Pray, sir, take your finger out of my ear." "I will, madam, the moment I can move my arm." such and many more ludicrous incidents did the gentlemen relate.

Persons who never before had found an entree into good company had this night forced themselves in, notwithstanding the vigilance of the marshal who guarded the doorway. General Scott had been robbed of his pocket book containing bills to a large amount, and much mirth was occasioned by the idea of pickpockets in the President's drawingroom. "Mr. Adams was there," said Mr. Macon, "but was less an object of attention than General Jackson, who was surrounded by persons of all parties."

"This sympathy with the conquered instead of the conqueror is honorable to human nature," observed one of the company.

"That may be doubtful," said another. "Many were disappointed and angry at Mr. Adams' success. No unkindly feelings were excited by General Jackson's defeat. Self-love is humiliated by another's success, but if Rochefoucault is to be believed, self-love is gratified by the misfortunes of even one's friends."

"General Jackson," continued Mr. Macon, "went up and shook hands with Mr. Adams, and congratulated him very cordially on his election."

"That was a useless piece of hypocrisy," said Mr. Crawford; "it deceived no one. Shaking hands was very well—was right—but the congratulatory speech might have been omitted. I like honesty in all things."

"And Mr. ^{Clay}, too, was there. Had you but seen him—so smiling, so courteous, so exulting—every glance of his eye, every smile of his lips, said plainer than words could say, 'I have settled this matter; I have made the President.'"

"Curse him," said Mr. Cobb.

"No, no," said Mr. Crawford, "he may, and probably did, act conscientiously."

"By ————."

But disappointed people will say hard things. It grew

late. The company made their adieus, and Mr. Crawford retired to his chamber.

When the fact of his election was communicated to Mr. Adams by the committee appointed for that purpose, one of the gentlemen said, that during their address the sweat rolled down Mr. Adams' face; he shook from head to foot, and was so agitated he could scarcely stand or speak. Everyone knows he is a man of keen sensibility and strong feelings, and taken by surprise, as he certainly was, his agitation was not to be wondered at.

The heavy and continued snow storm on the day of the election was considered a favorable circumstance, as it prevented the assemblage of crowds or mobs, as had been apprehended. In one ward of the city an effigy of Mr. Adams had been prepared, and had it not been for the storm would have been burned; and this, most probably, would have produced some riot among his friends, particularly the negroes, who, when his election was declared, were the only persons who expressed their joy by loud huzzas.

Among the higher classes no exultation was evinced; respect and sympathy for the disappointed candidates silenced any expressions of triumph. In fact, never was the social principle more beautifully developed. Party hostility was instantly extinguished—a simultaneous spirit of kindness appeared in all classes of society. Rivalry being extinct, suspicion vanished, confidence revived. The storm was passed, sunshine returned, and diffused its warmth and cheerfulness over the whole social system. Even the clapping in the gallery of Congress Hall was sudden and momentary. It was silenced by loud hisses before the command of the Speaker to clear the galleries could have been heard. Silenced by popular feeling! And a word from the chair, without the application of any force, instantly cleared the galleries. How admirable are our institutions! What a contrast does this election by the House of Representatives form to the election of a Polish Diet. There, as General LaFayette observed, foreign armies surrounded the assembly and controlled their elections. In Washington, on the 9th of February, not a sign of civil or military authority interfered with the freedom of the election. "I rejoice," added this veteran, "I rejoice to have seen this government pass through such an ordeal. It disappoints the calculations and expectations of the enemies of republican institutions."

And the mode or form of this election—how simple and dignified!

The counting of the votes of the electoral colleges was done by the Senate and House conjointly. Foreign ministers, strangers of distinction, and General LaFayette were present; but when the Senate rose, and the House of Representatives formed itself into body of states, to elect the President, the Senators withdrew from the floor, and all other persons from the house.

"What, even General LaFayette?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Lowrey, who was describing the scene, "had General Washington himself been there, he, too, must have withdrawn."

The delegation of each state sat together, and after ascertaining by ballot which candidate had the majority, in the state, an individual of the delegation was chosen to put the ballot in the ballot box. The whole proceedings was conducted with silence, order and dignity; and after the ballots were all given in, Mr. Webster and Mr. Randolph were appointed tellers. It was Mr. Webster who, with audible and distinct voice, announced that J. Q. Adams was elected, when Mr. Randolph made the speech already related.

The day succeeding this eventful one was warm and bright. The dazzling whiteness of the snow that covered the ground increased the splendor of the unclouded sunshine. The whole city seemed in motion; carriages whirled along the avenues and the foot-paths were crowded with pedestrians—citizens and strangers, ladies and gentlemen—hastening to pay their respects not only to the President-elect, but to General Jackson and Mr. Crawford, whose drawingroom was never vacant from eleven o'clock in the morning to eleven o'clock at night. But he did not seem as well as usual; the excitement had perhaps been too much for him, and a reaction took place. He looked pale—was languid and serious. In the evening he kept the younger children up later than usual. At twilight he took the two little ones, as was his custom, on his knees, wrapping his arms around them, and seemed to feel, with more than his accustomed tenderness, their innocent caresses. Often he was seen to press them to his bosom, to kiss their cheeks, their lips. The little girl (an affectionate little creature), kneeling on his lap, would hug and kiss him, smooth his hair, stroke his cheeks. Mrs. Crawford, thinking she might tease or fatigue her father, would have taken her away.

"No, no," said he, clasping her and his infant son tightly to his bosom, "I cannot part with them yet."

After tea, when he sat down to his game of whist, he

put the children on the sofa by him. There they stood playing all manner of little tricks—bobbing their heads now here, now there—kissing first one then the other cheek, untying his cravat, pulling his hair; but nothing that they did disturbed him, though in general he was impatient of any interruption while playing whist or chess. But this evening he never checked them, nor would he permit them being sent to bed, but every now and then turned to pat their cheeks and kiss them.

Ambable, warm-hearted man! Affection proved the most effectual balm to heal the wound inflicted by disappointed ambition. He kept his family around him the whole time, nor could they endure to be an hour away from him. Even Mrs. B——, the old nurse, (a worthy woman, who had lived many years in the family), could not long absent herself, but made frequent excuses to come into the drawingroom and to show some little kind attention.

"Poor old woman," said Mr. Crawford, "she seems to take it to heart more than anyone."

"It is the idea of being separated from the children," said a friend, who was then an inmate of the family. "She told me yesterday that she could not leave you; that she was determined to go to Georgia with the children, and that if you had nothing but a crust of bread to give her, still she would not leave the family."

Mr. Crawford was visibly affected; his eyes betrayed his feelings. How everyone who knows this man loves him!

About two o'clock General LaFayette came. Weary of conversation, Mr. Crawford, after the departure of a crowd of visitors, sat down to a game of chess. He rose and shook hands long and cordially with the General, and then resumed his game, which was near its close and deeply interesting. The General would not relinquish his hand, which he held within both his, and seemed oppressed with emotion. He sat on the sofa as close as he could to Mr. Crawford, and once or twice, under the impulse of strong emotion, seemed as if he were going to embrace him. The game finished, an animated conversation took place.

"I am glad," said LaFayette, "on my own account, that Jackson was not chosen, for our friend ~~Ben~~ would have thrown the whole blame on me, and attribute the choice of a soldier to the military enthusiasm which he says my visit has awakened through the country. In order to avoid any such influence, and to show that I respect civil more than military power, I have invariably avoided wearing my uniform, and on every occasion have reviewed the troops in my plain blue coat and round hat. Yet ~~Ben~~ would have thrown all the blame on my shoulders."

Mr. Crawford expressed his high sense of the delicacy and discretion General LaFayette had shown, not only in this, but every other circumstance relative to the Presidential contest.

In the evening while, as before described, Mr. Crawford was playing at whist, and his daughter and some female friends were conversing with the gentlemen not engaged at cards, a servant brought in a letter, which as usual, was handed to Miss Crawford, who always opened and examined her father's letters.

"Mr. Adams is prompt, kindly so," said she, handing the letter to her confidential friend who sat beside her. "See in what friendly terms he expresses his wish that my father should retain his present office, and continue in the new administration.

"And what answer," inquired Mr. —, "do you suppose your father will give?"

"Oh, a negative, as he told you he would in case the offer was made."

"But now the offer is made his mind may change. We gentlemen, about offices, feel and act as you ladies do about lovers, and often accept a positive offer, which in anticipation we had resolved to reject."

"Be certain my father will not change his resolution. No honor or advantage could tempt him to act inconsistently with his opinion of what is right, or to do anything he thinks wrong; and you well know that to remain in an administration whose principles and measures he could not conscientiously support is what he could not be persuaded to do. But come, the game is over; I will give him the letter."

"Let me advise you," said Mr. —, "not to give it to him tonight. It might cause him some wakeful hours—might disturb his rest."

"I am not the least afraid," answered his daughter.

"Be persuaded," said Mr. —, holding back her hand. "Allow me to know a little more of these matters than you possibly can do. An answer cannot be sent until tomorrow—the delay will make no difference—your father has been fatigued by company all day long—let him have a night's sound sleep before you give him the letter."

"I yield to your wishes," replied she, "though without the least apprehension of his rest being disturbed by reading this letter."

"Are you fully aware of the alternative on which your father is called to decide? An honorable office, a good salary, an advantageous residence for his large, his young family—and comparative poverty—for you are aware how greatly his private affairs have suffered by his absence from home."

"Yes, I know all these things. I know that the agreeable excitement of public life, the gratification of high office, the pleasures of society, the comforts of affluence, must be

exchanged for the retirement and obscurity of country life. I know that our farm, in consequence of his long absence, is in a ruinous, miserable condition, that as you say, he goes to comparative poverty. Yet I am certain my father will not waver one moment in his decision. He has already considered the subject—his mind is made up."

"We shall see," said Mr. —; "I am not quite as certain as you are."

His daughter was right. The next morning she handed her father the letter. He was evidently pleased not only with the offer, but the terms in which that offer was made. The letter was not a cold, complimentary official communication; it was written in language expressive of high esteem and friendly feeling. He reperused it before he said anything; then directed his daughter to get pen and paper, and he would dictate an answer. The answer was what she expected; the offer was declined, but in terms full of respect and good will. Had Mr. Adams received this original answer doubtless he would have been the much more gratified than he could have been with the one actually sent him. Some of the political and confidential friends to whom it was shown objected to the kindly tone, and after a long discussion, wearied but not convinced, Mr. Crawford consented to a more cold and formal reply to Mr. Adam's really friendly letter. If, as Sallust says, politicians have no hearts, Mr. Crawford was no politician, for never had man a more capacious or warmer heart than his. But these advisers were politicians. In other respects Mr. Adams showed towards Mr. Crawford the same good feeling. Hearing that he wished to dispose of his service of plate and his fine stock of wine, Mr. Adams sent his steward with the offer to take both the plate and the wine at Mr. Crawford's own valuation, thus saving him the necessity of exposing them to public sale. To the last farewell visit which Mr. Crawford paid him Mr. Adams in various ways evinced personal respect and regard for the ex-secretary. It is pleasant to have such things to relate—such proofs of good feeling between political opponents—were it only for their rarity.

On the second or third morning after the election General Jackson paid Mr. Crawford a visit. His manner was frank, courteous, almost cordial. They had not met for several years, and had been mutually irritated against each other by the representations of their respective partisans and friends. The cause of hostility was now removed, and they met like good and brave men—enemies in war, friends in peace. Everyone present was greatly pleased with the con-

versation and demeanor of General Jackson. He had in all respects, since his political defeat, exhibited great dignity and magnanimity. Not the slightest allusion was made to recent events, but topics of general interest, such as agriculture, European news, etc., made up the conversation during the half hour's visit." *

The sage of Monticello, the friend and supporter of Mr. Crawford, wrote him at this time:

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO W. H. CRAWFORD.

MONTICELLO, Ga., Feb. 15th, 1824.

Dear Sir: Your two letters of January 31st and February 4th were received in due time. With the former came safely the seeds from Mr. Appleton, which I commit to the Agricultural Society of our county, of which Mr. Madison is president.

Of the talents and qualifications of Dr. Jackson† as a professor in the branches of science specified in your last letter, your recommendation would have had great weight in our estimation; but our professors are all designated, so that we have no vacancy in which we can avail ourselves of his services.

I had kept back my acknowledgement of these letters in hope that I might have added in it congratulations which would have been very cordially offered. I learned yesterday, however, that events had not been what we had wished. The disappointment will be deeply felt by our state generally, and by no one in it more seriously than myself. I confess that what we have seen in the course of this election has very much dampened the confidence I had hitherto reposed in the discretion of my fellowcitizens. The ignorance of character, the personal partialities, and the inattention to the qualifications which ought to have guided their choice, augur ill of the wisdom of our future cause. Looking, too, to congress, my hopes are not strengthened. A decided majority there seem to measure their powers only by what they may think, or pretend to think, for the general welfare of the states. All limitations, therefore, are prostrated, and the general welfare in name but consolidation in effect, is now the principle of every department of the Government.

I have not long to witness this, but it adds another to the motives by which the decays of nature so finely prepare us for welcoming the hour of exit from this state of being. Be assured that in your retirement you will carry with you my confidence, and sincere progress for your health, happiness and prosperity.

THOS. JEFFERSON.

To William H. Crawford.

Genial Senator Cobb was the most crestfallen of any of Crawford's friends. He writes at this time to a friend in Georgia:

*Southern Literary Messenger, Vol. III, page 296.

†Dr. Henry Jackson, Secretary of Legation, while Crawford was Minister to France.

"Crawford will return home, and we must do the best we can with him. Should he and our friends wish that he should go to the senate, the way shall be offered to him. I am sick and tired of everything here, and wish for nothing so much as private life. My ambition is dead."

Congressman Richard Henry Wilde, author of "My Life Is Like a Summer Rose," feeling the bitterness of his friend's defeat with all the sensibilities of his poetic nature wrote the following letter to General Blackshear:

CONGRESSMAN R. H. WILDE TO GENERAL BLACKSHEAR.

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 20th, 1825.

Dear Sir: From what you have already heard you may well imagine we have fallen on evil times. There is no hope for the Republic during the next four years; if it outlives that time, and has strength enough remaining to shake off its doctors and its diseases its constitution may be restored. But I have my doubts. So insensible to everything but the promotion of their own selfish views of interest or ambition are many of our public men of the present time, so open and unblushing the traffic in influence which we have seen established, that either they must be signally punished, or the people will lose—nay, must have already lost all belief in political honesty, and consider all difference of party as a mere pretext to cover the struggle for office between out and in.

The coalition-ministry is not yet certainly announced. Clay will be Secretary of State; Mr. Cheves of the Treasury, if he will accept. Mr. Wirt and Mr. Southard, it is thought, will be retained. Mr. Webster must be in some way provided for; but how, is the difficulty. The holy political alliance are afraid of bringing so decided a Federalist into office. He would like to be Speaker of the House, into which Mr. Adams' friends cannot put him. Forsyth, or McLane of Delaware, will be in his way. This much is certain: let the materials be compounded as they may, we have nothing to hope from the General Government. Our claims for militia services and for the removal of the Indians are not treated with common decency. A refusal to do us justice is accompanied with a careless contempt of our rights, and of the obligations of the Union to us, such as no man would use who had the least regard for the reputation of this Government.

Rely upon it, we are not far from questions which must rouse Southern feeling, if it is not dead. We shall have before long proposals for emancipation. A committee of the House of Representatives have already made a report justifying the treaty of Mr. Adams yielding the right of search; and the House, in spite of all opposition, has ordered three thousand copies to be printed.

The Southern States are already the Ireland of the Union. I pray God that ere long we may not realize all the bitter consequences of the policy which has made us so.

Farewell, my dear sir. Remember me to our friends in Laurens, and believe me sincerely yours,

R. H. WILDE.

To Gen. David Blackshear. *

*Miller's Bench and Bar of Ga., Vol. I, page 270.

The severest disappointment was felt by the friends of Jackson. Again and again did they, with him, echo and re-echo the cry of a "bargain and sale" between Adams and Clay. Every engine that malignancy could invent was brought to bear against Clay by Jackson and his partisans. Clay met these accusations with a proud defiance. They greatly prejudiced the people at large, however, and did him incalculable injury which he could never wholly overcome. Crawford, while differing with Clay in politics generally, was too generous to lend himself to popular clamor against his reputation. He never believed the charges. He wrote to Clay concerning them:

"I hope you know me too well to suppose that I have countenanced the charge of corruption which has been reiterated against you. The truth is, I approved of your vote to Mr. Adams when it was given, and should have voted as you did between Jackson and Adams. But candor compels me to say I disapproved of your accepting an office from him. You ought, I think, to have foreseen that his administration could hardly fail to be unpopular. Those who knew his temper, disposition and political opinions entertained no doubt upon the subject. By accepting the office of Secretary of State from him you have indisputably connected your fortunes with his, and it appears to me that he is destined to fall as his father did, and you must fall with him."

The confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State was bitterly opposed in the senate; the vote, however, was twenty-seven for it to fifteen against it. Among those senators who voted for confirmation were Thos. H. Benton, General Harrison and Van Buren. Among those who voted against it were Messrs. Berrien and Cobb of Georgia, Branch of North Carolina, General Jackson, Major Eaton, Hayne of South Carolina and John Randolph.

These charges of corruption gave to Randolph food for unlimited declamation. He availed himself of every opportunity for elfish taunts and fulminating satires which his peculiar genius so fittingly devised. In one of these fierce anti-federal harangues upon the Panama Mission he spoke of the union existing between Mr. Adams and his Secretary of State as the "Coalition of Bluff and Black George, the combination unheard of till then, of the Puritan and black leg." Clay was stung by this language to deadly resentment. A duel was the result, and on April 8th, 1826, after two ineffectual fires, a reconciliation was effected between the combatants.

Clay had never very highly estimated the talent of Jackson as a statesman. In public debate he had declared that

his military career displayed the want of prudence, temper, and discretion indispensable for civil administration, and had stated openly that the election of a military chieftain to the first office of the state was a dangerous precedent. The charge of bartering his influence with Adams, so confidently made and pertinaciously maintained, against Clay, presupposes that his friends who voted with him were as corrupt as he is charged to have been. If they were corrupt they sold themselves to infamy without price, for none of them partook of executive favor. These accusations could never be substantiated by fact, nor even by reasonable inference. Clay's talent, experience and popularity were so great that it is probable that any one of the defeated candidates, had he been elected, would have appointed him Secretary of State just as Adams did. ✓

Freed from the restraints of public office, politics held out to Crawford no charms, and his whole family seemed to rejoice in anticipations of a quiet life on the Georgia plantation. Just so soon as the precarious state of his health and the roads and weather would permit he resolved to commence his journey to Woodlawn. Meanwhile he was constantly surrounded by an agreeable circle of friends and acquaintances. Visitors to Washington to attend the approaching inauguration called to see him, and people of all parties evinced their esteem by frequent visits, where they enjoyed unrestrained freedom of social intercourse.

Broken in health and fortune, with a large family dependent upon him and without means to give his children advantages of education, few men so situated would have refused to accept the lucrative office tendered Crawford by President Adams. He enjoyed life at the capital, and was not without ambition; yet he unhesitatingly sacrificed these and emoluments of high office to his sense of right. To a friend who insisted on his acceptance of the Treasury portfolio which was proffered in all sincerity by Mr. Adams, he replied:

"I cannot, honestly, remain in the administration, differing as I do from the President on some important principles. I could not support measures I do not approve, and to go into the cabinet merely as an opponent would be as ungenerous as useless. If Mr. Adams does right I hope my friends will support his administration; if the contrary, my friends will be at liberty to oppose it, which they could not well do were I in the administration." * I cannot honestly do it, was always with him a decisive reason.

*Southern Literary Messenger, Vol. III, page 278.

The necessary preparations for his departure having been completed, it was determined to make the long trip by easy stages in his own private carriage. Senator Cobb, whose friendship was not bounded by his friends' success, clung faithfully to him in his hour of greatest misfortune, and accompanied him on his homeward journey. The people of Georgia, with pride and affection, turned out to meet him in every town through which he passed. On the borders of Oglethorpe county they congregated, and could not have been more considerate in their welcome if instead of their afflicted and defeated fellow-citizen he had returned a conquering hero. Although defeated he was a hero still. Their friendship was evinced in the most open and enthusiastic manner. A few miles from Lexington they formed in procession and conducted him to the town with demonstrations of triumph. He was here entertained in the hospitable mansion of his venerable friend, Judge John Moore, and the day was devoted to the reception of his old acquaintances. Among them were the children of many of those who twenty years before first called him into political life. Their fathers had pointed to him as a worthy exemplar of industry and application to encourage youthful ambitions. But how changed was the Crawford who returned to them!

"Disease had robbed him of that fine appearance and majestic carriage which had so impressed all who knew him in the zenith of his career. The commanding intellect which had won the reverence of a nation no longer shone with original splendor. He was, in fact, the mere shadow or wreck of what he had been. Some who went in with beaming eyes came away saddened and downcast, when they called to mind the vast difference between the Crawford of 1812 and the Crawford of 1825. All had heard of his sickness, and they expected to find him somewhat altered, but none were prepared for the awful change which met their vision. He could scarcely see; he spoke with great difficulty, and even with apparent pain; his walk was almost a hobble, and his whole frame evidenced, on the least motion, that its power and vigor had been seriously assaulted. Those now living who met Crawford on that occasion, mention the interview as being one of the most melancholy of their lives.

"Three miles distant from Lexington was Woodlawn, Crawford's private residence. This was now his next and last stage; and the family entered within its grounds with feelings more akin to those of exiles returning from a painful banishment than such as might be supposed to oppress those whose ambitious aims have just been disappointed. It is a retired, peculiarly rural spot, unadorned with costly or imposing edifices, and boasts of no artificial embellishments of taste; everything around partakes of the simplicity and unostentatious habits of its illustrious owner. It was fronted with a

magnificent forest of oaks, through which the mansion was approached from the main road, along a romantic and winding avenue, just wide enough for vehicles to pass with convenience. In the rear opened an extensive clearing which formed the plantation, dotted here and there with peach and apple orchards, and affording an agreeable prospect of hill and meadow; around and through these meandered a clear little brook, which found its source in a delightful spring only a few yards distant from the mansion, and which lent a charmingly pastoral appearance to the whole scene. The garden bloomed with an abundance of shrubbery and of choice, tender fruit trees, which were planted and tended by Crawford and his elder children alone, and smiled in the luxuriance and gaiety of its numerous flowerbeds. A rich carpet of blue grass covered the lawn in front; and here, of a calm summer evening, beneath the shade of a venerable oak, might be seen frequently gathered the entire family, the retired statesman himself always in the midst, and ever the happiest and liveliest of the group. The memories of the past, laden alike with greatness and with gloom, seemed now to have faded to mere secondary and subordinate importance. The quiet joys of domestic life, unmingled with aught that could mar their loveliness, spread content through the familiar circle, and enlivened his secluded homestead with a warmth of affection and harmony too pure and too substantial to be compared with the fleeting pleasures and ephemeral honors of the political work." *

With an energy not to be expected from one so infirm he set himself to work improving his dilapidated farm. He planted grape vines from France and studied best methods of cultivation. His health and means, however, were inadequate to carrying out many agricultural projects. The depressed condition of his finances and the desire to give to each of his children an education caused Crawford at this time to consider again entering professional life. His sons were yet under age, and it was not until four years later he gave in marriage his eldest daughter, Caroline, to George Mortimer Dudley. This daughter had long been his most trusted confidant; her delicate hand had drawn up many of his official papers, her talent and industry had ingratiated her into the favor of many distinguished personages. During her father's long sickness at Washington she had carefully looked after his affairs, and gave up willingly the fashionable and social circles of the capital to nurse and lure him back to health.

On May 26th, 1827, the celebrated cynic and wit Judge John M. Dooley died, and the bench of the Northern Circuit, in which Oglethorpe county was located, was made vacant thereby. Governor Troup immediately appointed Crawford

*Cobb's Leisure Labors, page 233.

to fill this position until the meeting of the Legislature, when that body unanimously elected him to the unexpired term. This judgeship carried with it an annual salary of three thousand dollars. Twice subsequently was he re-elected by the General Assembly, and continued in office so long as he lived.

A mind that has been engaged for years in the solution of great problems of statecraft needs something more exciting and congenial than is afforded by the study of books in a quiet library, or social intercourse with friends; such a mind must have active employment. When the illustrious James Monroe retired from the Presidency laden with honors—this learned diplomat and statesman who had filled so many high offices under the government—when he sought retirement in his secluded Virginia home, in order to give to his mind some required diversion, actually accepted the office of justice of the peace, and for a long time faithfully performed its duties.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON THE BENCH OF THE NORTHERN CIRCUIT.

The elections in Georgia in 1825 gave a majority of the members of the General Assembly to the Clark party, although Troup was elected Governor. This was the first election of Governor by the people. The Legislature had hitherto exercised that power; but now, after a spirited canvass, Troup received 20,545 votes and Clark 19,682.

The material development of the state was now quite marked. The land lottery system made it easy for every settler to acquire a homestead, and almost every farmer owned land and live stock. Few were wealthy, and yet none were so poor as to suffer the extremes of human misery. A score of slaves was considered a large number for any planter to own. Never, perhaps, in any country was the financial condition of all the free citizens so nearly equal. Every family possessed the means to be comfortable. The farms, when well cultivated, produced the necessaries of life, and cotton as a surplus crop brought ready money. Fruits, melons and game were to be had, and often liquors from some nearby distillery resulted in the too frequent use of alcoholic stimulants. While it was easy to live by scant labor, yet industry was a cardinal virtue practiced by all classes. Strange that a people so circumstanced should divide on economic conditions. It, however, remains a fact that the Crawford, or Troup party, were denominated aristocrats, and the Clarkites claimed to be

the plain, common people. It was the old rivalry of the Virginia against the Carolina stock; but there was such an intermixture of classes, and conditions were so very similar that this arbitrary distinction seems to have been without much reason.

The civilities of a public dinner at the State Capitol was tendered and accepted by Mr. Crawford, as evinced by the following correspondence:

MILLEDGEVILLE, Nov. 11, 1825.

Sir: The citizens of the town of Milledgeville, not less disposed to honor and respect virtue and integrity than those of any other town, state or county, have (influenced by a degree of proper respect for the well-earned merits of a distinguished citizen of Georgia) determined to pay you that attention which, in their opinion, is appropriately due you. They have therefore resolved to manifest to you and their country their esteem for your public and private worth by giving you a public entertainment during your stay among them, and have, in pursuance thereof, directed the undersigned to notify you of the same, and give you the invitation so determined on by our citizens, and further to know of you when it will be convenient for you to attend.

With consideration of high regard, we have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servants,

HINES HOLT,
J. S. CALHOUN,
WM. H. TORRANCE,
LUCIUS Q. C. LAMAR,
WM. G. HANSELL.

Hon. Wm. H. Crawford.

MR. CRAWFORD'S REPLY.

MILLEDGEVILLE, Nov. 11, 1825.

Gentlemen: Your friendly letter of this date, inviting me to a public dinner, has just been received. I accept the invitation with great pleasure, under a conviction that testimonials of this nature may operate as a stimulus to virtuous exertion, and therefore may be useful to the Republic. For your kind expressions in relation to myself, be pleased, gentlemen, to accept my most grateful thanks both individually and collectively.

I am, gentlemen, with sentiments of high consideration, your most obedient servant and fellow-citizen,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

To Hines Holt, J. S. Calhoun, Wm. H. Torrance, Lucius Q. C. Lamar and Wm. G. Hansell, esquires. *

Hon. Hines Holt presided, and was assisted by Hon. Seaborn Jones and William Rutherford. The toasts offered were as follows:

*Miller's Bench and Bar of Georgia, page 234.

First—"The United States; the best guarantee of her own sovereignty is a due regard to sovereignty of the states."

Second—"The state of Georgia; ever ready to shed her heart blood in the cause of the Union. The charge of disaffection only merits her contempt."

Third—"Washington; born in a land of liberty, his valor won and his virtue secure."

Fourth—"LaFayette. The millions of bayonets which guard the blessing which we enjoy will stand between him and the tyrants of Europe."

Fifth—"Boliver, our distinguished guest. Reared in the school of Republicanism, public employments at home and abroad have not impaired the simplicity of his character."

Sixth—"Governor Troup, the first choice of the people; the able advocate of state rights and the rights of the state."

Seventh—"Jefferson, the Rector of the University of Virginia. Though in this capacity less distinguished by title, yet equally useful to his country."

Eighth—"The memory of Riego. His name is sacred to all republicans."

Ninth—"The Navy."

Tenth—"Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures."

Eleventh—"Benjamin Franklin."

Twelfth—"Greece."

Volunteer Toast by W. H. Crawford—"Education and the frequency and freedom of elections, the main pillars of constitutional government."

By Governor Troup—"The union of brave men; the support of the rights of the states."

—o—

The proceedings of this banquet and the honors shown Mr. Crawford thereat were animadverted on by the prominent newspapers of the country.

The cities of Georgia vied with each other in offering honors to Crawford at this time. At a public dinner given in Augusta on December 21st, 1825, at which Col. William Cummings was chairman of the committee to wait on and welcome him, the following toast was given:

"Our distinguished guest—his private virtues endear him to his friends; his talent and public services entitle him to the esteem and gratitude of his country."

At a public dinner in his honor at Carnesville Hon. James Ward responded to the toast: "Crawford, the distinguished statesman and zealous patriot; his name shall go down to the remotest posterity."

To the sentiment expressed on a similar occasion in Savannah nine cheers were given in response to the toast: "William H. Crawford. Peaceful be his retirement and calm his slumbers. May returning health invigorate his frame and the civic wreath again adorn his manly brow."

The Nashville (Tenn.) Whig, descanting on these public functions, stated that Crawford on one occasion responded to the toast: "The present administration; let it be judged by its measures." This paper then stated: "This is such a sentiment as might have been expected from such a man. It does not come within the range of his intellect to yield to that corroding envy which can see no merit in a rival who has been more successful than himself. Nor does he deem it consistent with good sense or sound judgment to condemn by anticipation the measures of an administration which are as yet to be tested by experience, and are unknown to those who would thus decide upon them."

The Clark party in a short time after this affair gave a dinner at Buffington's tavern in Milledgeville to celebrate their victory in gaining a majority of the Legislature. There was great rejoicing on their part. Phil Alston, who was a brilliant young lawyer and violent partisan of Crawford, happened to be in Milledgeville at this time, and coming within the sound of the victors' Bacchanalian rejoicing over the festive board exclaimed with vehemence: "Oh! if I were death on the pale horse I would ride rough shod over that den reeking with infamy, when hell would reap a richer harvest than at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah." *

Crawford made a better Judge than the state of his health would cause one to suppose. His clear and conscientious sense of justice and the recollection of his early training at the bar served to keep him in the right course. He refused to be governed by strict technicalities when they worked an injustice.

On a certain occasion when making a decision he remarked: "Summum jus is sometimes Summa injuria, and I must so construe the rule as to do the parties substantial justice."

The Supreme Court had not been created, and the only forum for the correction of errors or to promote uniformity of procedure was the semi-annual convention of the superior court judges. The judges were required to bring a docket of all the causes that had arisen in their respective circuits

*Andrew's Reminiscences, p. 63.

that were of a doubtful nature, and the same were considered after presenting such written argument as the parties chose to furnish. After ascertaining the opinion of a majority of the judges in each case the judge to whose circuit the same belonged was required to determine it in the county where said action originated, according to the opinion pronounced at the said meeting of the judges. During the seven years that he presided as judge of the superior court Crawford was chairman of this convention.

The long and distressing illness which Mr. Crawford had endured had so impaired his constitution that he was but the wreck of what he was in his prime. One manifestation of the effects of his illness was his excitability of temper, which was greater than he had ever before exhibited. His greatest annoyance was what he called a "silly speech." These speeches, however, were rare, for the circuit over which he presided was noted for the ability of its lawyers. He was so practical that some accused him of wanting in delicacy. "He was not unfeeling," said Judge Andrews, "for touch him on the right chord and he was as tender as a woman. I have often seen him moved to tears by the eloquence of our Chief Justice Lumpkin." *

Becoming bored by a lawyer who had often repeated his argument, the judge exclaimed: "Mr. C——, you go 'round and 'round like a blind horse in a gin."

He never spared Clark and the Clark party. When at Lincoln court a witness had been sworn whose evidence brought forth uncomplimentary remarks against him at the dinner table, and some one remarked that the witness was an old Clark man. The judge replied: "I thought so, I thought so."

George A. Young, a considerate gentleman present, in order to shield two Clark men who were at the table and heard the judge's blunt remarks, said: "There are some very good and very clever Clark men." When the judge promptly replied: "Mighty few, mighty few, mighty few."

Holding a two weeks' session of Wilkes court he, contrary to his usual custom, failed to attend church on Sunday. At dinner his landlady, chiding him for it, said: "Mr. H—— preached a mighty good sermon."

When the judge replied: "Mrs. A——, I presume you are like my mother, who would go to church and hear the veriest jackass preach and say: 'A mighty good sermon, a mighty good sermon.'"

*Andrew's Reminiscences, page 59.

That his rugged honesty outweighed his pride of opinion was clearly manifested on many occasions. At one of the convention of judges a difficult question which had arisen in his circuit was placed before the convention and discussed. Crawford gave his opinion, which was concurred in and commended by all present, except Judge Hiram Warner, who had just been elected to preside over the Coweta Circuit, and was the youngest judge in the convention. Warner, without effrontery, but with becoming delicacy, disagreed. The chairman insisted that he explain fully the reason of his disagreement. Under this pressure the youthful judge entered into a full discussion, and with so great analysis and erudition that while none of the judges expressed a change, yet several of them were now wavering in their hitherto fixed opinion. At this juncture Crawford arose and stated to the convention that the views so ably presented by Judge Warner had convinced him completely that the entire reasoning of his own opinions as first expressed was wrong, and that Warner's argument was invincibly correct.

It is a startling historical fact that the title to the northern half of the state of Georgia was in 1818 won on a wager on a game of ball. In the whole annals of recorded history never was there so great a stake on the turn of a bat or the miscue of a ball. The Creek Indians were the undisputed tenants in possession. The Cherokees began to make encroachments many years before, and driven by the whites on their northern borders, they pressed down upon the territory of the Creeks. The war-like Creeks proposed the gauge of battle. The milder Cherokees refused to fight, but boasted that their tribe could surpass the Creeks on the ball field. Thus the great contest between the picked warriors of the two tribes was arranged. Three full days of balling was to decide the important result. Victory perched on the banner of the astute Cherokees, and north Georgia, by this play, was forever lost to the Creeks. *

In 1830, however, the Legislature passed a law providing that all Indians resident therein should be subjected to such laws as might be prescribed for them by the state, and abolished the separate Cherokee government within its limits. William Wirt was engaged as counsel by the Indians to resist the claim of the state of Georgia to extend its laws over the Cherokees. This right the Indians strongly denied. Corn-Tassels, a Cherokee, was convicted of murder committed in

*Glimmer's Georgians, p. 234.

that part of the Cherokee territory which had been added to Hall county, and lay in jail at Gainesville under sentence of death. This case excited the notice of the whole country, and an attempt was made by the Cherokees to get the matter transferred to the United States court under their treaty rights. The judge before whom Tassels was tried suspended sentence until he could consult the convention of judges upon the question made, as to whether the court had the legal and constitutional right to try the case. All that the Indians themselves finally asked of the whites was that they be permitted to put the culprit to death in their own way. *

Over this matter a sharp controversy between the Federal and state authorities was brewing, and the convention of judges gave to the matter that mature deliberation which its importance demanded. The judges in convention unanimously decided that the power belonged to the state court, and the Indian was hanged. Crawford, by a consensus of all the other judges, was appointed to write out the opinion. This decision, as written out by him and published in Dudley's Georgia Reports, is alike creditable to his astuteness as a jurist, and to his profound reasoning as a logician. Indeed those decisions to which he gave study and deliberation have ever been regarded with such high authority as to seemingly refute the charge that his mind was at this time less clear on account of his bodily infirmity.

As a trustee of Franklin College he took an active interest in its affairs. He was pleased to see his friend and teacher, Dr. Moses Waddell, fill the position of president so acceptably to the people of the state from 1819 to 1829. Few teachers ever numbered among their pupils such a bright galaxy of boys as Dr. Waddell. Among them were Calhoun, Cobb, McDuffie, Hugh S. Legare, J. L. Pettigrew, A. B. Longstreet, Chancellor Wardlaw, Judge Wardlaw and scores of others known to fame. Of all of his pupils he frequently declared he thought most highly of the intellectual powers of W. H. Crawford. †

It was a great pleasure for Crawford to visit the college frequently, which he could conveniently do, as Woodlawn is only thirteen miles distant from Athens.

In November, 1806, the college faculty was composed of President Josiah Meigs and two assistants. There was a great dearth of funds, and the college was in sore need of a library.

*Glimmer's Georgians, p. 272.

†Sketches by Gov. Perry, page 272.

The journals of the Georgia Legislature show that Crawford, who was then a member of the House of Representatives, presented a letter from President Meigs containing a resolution from the *Senatus Academicus* petitioning the legislature to pass an act authorizing a lottery for the purpose of raising the sum of three thousand dollars to purchase a library for the college. This law was readily enacted without opposition in either house. This plan for raising necessary funds to maintain a library although commended at the time could hardly be proposed now without meeting with severe condemnation from even the most zealous friends of this noble institution. Many customs like holding lotteries, duelling, gander-pulling, shooting for beef, cock-fighting, distilling, drinking liquors and ring fighting at the militia musters as practiced by the early Georgians, are now tabooed because by the present generation considered immoral.

The rapid increase of the population of the state by the constant arrival of young men from older sections of the Union who came in quest of fortune, the sharp competition of business and professional rivalries unchecked, by family ties or friendship, in many instances engendered an independence of character unusual among the masses of long established communities. Every man stood alone by his own native strength of will, courage and intellectual powers. If he lacked moral or physical courage the gate of fortune seemed barred against him. It was a severe school for the trial and development of individual character and few could pass its portals without imbibing much of evil as well as good. These sturdy pioneers, however, valued truth, honor, education and civic virtue in the highest degree. There were many great men of that period. Giants seemed to grow in groups. The court rolls of that day show a galaxy of profound lawyers illustrious in state and national affairs. The product of this civilization was such gifted men as Chas. J. Jenkins, Andrew J. Miller, George W. Crawford, George R. Gilmer, Joseph Henry Lumpkin, Thomas W. Thomas, William C. Dawson, Francis H. Cone, Howell Cobb, G. M. Dudley, W. H. Torrence, Stephen Upson, Garnett Andrews, and many others known to fame who practiced law in the courts presided over by Judge Crawford.

At the March term, 1830, of Elbert Superior Court the impetuous, fiery, rollicking, fox-hunting and opulent Robert A. Toombs, not yet twenty years of age, was admitted to the bar. This young Mirabeau always enjoyed the friendship and

confidence of Crawford, and by great industry and application soon found a clientage over the circuit. The middle name Augustus was not discarded by Toombs until ten years later, when in the hot political contests in which he was constantly engaged, his political enemies playing upon his initials saddled upon him the soubriquet of "Rat."

There was another youth, pale-faced, delicate, big brained, discreet and painstaking, admitted to practice four years later, and Crawford, who publicly complimented him on his examination, was an encouragement and inspiration to his budding genius. This was the courageous Alexander H. Stephens, who lived on six dollars per month the first year of his practice and saved enough money to buy a horse and saddle during the time. *

The wealth and brains of the state lay in the rural districts. Slaves and lands were the basis of most of the litigation. The merchants and manufacturers borrowed money from the wealthy farmers to do business in the towns. There were no great cities, and corporations had not grown to present magnitude. There were no railroads nor trusts. The prominent men of the state went to court on horseback with their saddle bags, and put up at the taverns. In this way Toombs and Stephens became boon traveling companions, and cemented a lifelong friendship and gained the admiration of the learned old judge on the bench before whom they were admitted to practice law. This was a great trio, so firmly united by affinity and destiny, and whose lives are so intertwined with our country's history as to make them worthy of careful study.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCLUSION.

While occupying the bench of the Northern Circuit of Georgia Crawford was not oblivious of national governmental affairs. His opinions were eagerly sought and studied, and quite a number of his letters on current events were published. The following letter on the mooted question of the constitutionality of a national bank is submitted as his last on this subject:

CRAWFORD TO C. J. INGERSOL.

WOODLAWN, Dec. 5, 1831.

Dear Sir: Your friendly letter on the subject of the Bank of the United States has been received by due course of mail. The opinion which I formed of the constitutionality

*Stovall's Life of Toombs.

and expediency of the Bank of the United States when I was a member of the senate was the result of a careful examination of the Constitution of the United States, made without preconceived opinions. That opinion is recorded in two speeches which I made in the senate in the year 1811. Since that time I have had no occasion of reviewing the question. My opinion remains unaltered.

I was Secretary of the Treasury more than eight years, and during that time I had ample evidence of the great utility of the Bank of the United States in managing the fiscal concerns of the Union. I am persuaded that no man, whatever his preconceived opinions may be, can study the subject without being deeply impressed with the expediency of the Bank of the United States in conducting the finances of the Union. The provision in the Constitution which gives congress the power to pass all laws which may be necessary and proper to carry into effect the enumerated powers gives congress the right to pass the Bank Bill, unless a law most proper to carry into effect the power to collect and distribute revenue should be excluded by the provision.

The opponents of the constitutionality of the bank place great stress upon the word "necessary" contained in the grant of power, and insist that no law can be necessary but such that without which the power could not be carried into effect. Now, this construction appears to me to be indispensable. It does seem to me that the words "necessary and proper" cannot exclude a law that is most proper to carry the power into effect. Yet the unconstitutionality of the bank can be pronounced only upon that construction. It does appear to me that the framers of the Constitution never could have intended to exclude the passage of a law most proper to carry a power into effect because it might be carried imperfectly into effect by another law. My construction of the grant of power to pass all laws which may be necessary to carry the enumerated powers into effect includes the power to pass all laws which are necessary and proper to carry the enumerated powers into effect in the most perfect and complete manner, and not in an incomplete and imperfect manner.

I have not seen a complete development of the President's plan of a bank. It is possible that by his plan the transmission of the revenue may be effected; but the safety of the public deposits cannot be effected by the President's plan. The advantage of this security to the public is incalculable. It ought not to be relinquished unless it can be satisfactorily proved that the Bank of the United States is unconstitutional.

This, I think, cannot be satisfactorily shown. My speeches are recorded, and can be republished if necessary. They contain the result of the best investigation I was able to give the subject. I am persuaded I could not improve upon it now if I had the means of investigating the subject, which I have not.

I am, sir, your friend, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Charles Jared Ingersol, Esq.

On the subject of nullification, which was then so ably advocated by John C. Calhoun and other South Carolinians,

Crawford had very pronounced views. To his friend, Col. John Taylor, he wrote:

"I have observed with some mortification that the Legislature of South Carolina has adjourned without passing a resolution requiring the call of a Federal convention. In Europe fundamental institutions can only be changed by revolution, violence and bloodshed. In the United States, where such changes can be peaceably and constitutionally made, judging from the past, we are determined to pursue the example of our European ancestors and change our fundamental institutions only by the same means. I hold that no state will stand justified in the sight of Heaven who shall resort to revolutionary measures to change the existing order of things until it has exhausted all constitutional methods of obtaining redress. That nullification and seceding from the Union are revolutionary measures cannot, I think, admit of a rational doubt. The strongest objection I have to the Carolina doctrine is that its authors have deceitfully and hypocritically represented both measures to be constitutional and peaceable. They must have known better, and therefore acted dishonestly." *

In the spring of 1830 an irreconcilable feud sprang up between the President and Vice-President of the United States. This was just twelve months after their inauguration. It seems that at a cabinet dinner given by President Jackson Hon. Finch Ringold, marshal of the District of Columbia, and ex-President Monroe were the invited guests. Mr. Ringold at this dinner stated to Maj. W. B. Lewis that Mr. Calhoun had not been General Jackson's friend in the Florida campaign, as General Jackson had always believed. When questioned by Jackson in regard to this exciting subject Major Lewis told him of a certain letter in the possession of Senator John Forsyth of Georgia, and written by Mr. Crawford, in which Crawford had stated that Jackson had done him an injustice in supposing that he had antagonized him. The letter further stated that it was Calhoun, and not Crawford, who was in favor of reprimanding or punishing Jackson in some form for alleged unauthorized or illegal conduct in the prosecution of the war. Crawford, with the frankness of his nature, had stated in the letter that Mr. Forsyth was authorized to show it to Calhoun.

On March 1st, 1831, Crawford, writing to his friend, John Williams, says:

"Perhaps you may feel some curiosity to know how I have been involved in this matter. In February, 1828, I dined with the Hon. John Forsyth, who was the Governor of the state. He introduced the subject, and expressed a desire to know the particulars, as the cabinet was then dissolved

*This letter furnished by L. G. Crawford, who has a copy in Crawford's handwriting.

and its influence could not be effected by any disclosures. I gave him a correct account of the circumstances. Sometime after James A. Hamilton of New York, on his way to New Orleans, called upon the Governor and received an account of what had passed between him and me on that subject. Sometime after he applied to Forsyth by letter for a written statement of what he had received verbally from him. This was complied with, and was afterwards mentioned to the President. Jackson's letters and Forsyth's will explain how I became involved. Forsyth sent me a copy of his letter to Hamilton and requested me to correct any inaccuracies that might be in it. I did so and returned it. Calhoun's publication shows the rest, except a letter from me to him which he has not published, although he has meanly published his insulting answer to it which has no connection with his dispute with the President. I have had no communication with the President, nor shall have—although I think he could give important information that he received the information of my unfriendly conduct to him in the cabinet from Mr. Calhoun or his friends. Although this is probable, no approach will be made by me to the President."



MRS. SUSANA GIRARDIN CRAWFORD.

General Jackson, after seeing the Forsyth letter, immediately commenced a very acrimonious correspondence with Calhoun.

"It has been intimated to me," he wrote, "many years ago, that it was you, and not Mr. Crawford, who had been secretly endeavoring to destroy my reputation. These insinuations I indignantly repelled upon the ground that you, in

all your letters to me, professed to be my personal friend, and approved entirely my conduct in relation to the Seminole campaign. I had a too exalted opinion of your honor and frankness to believe for one moment that you could be capable of such deception."

To Jackson's communications Calhoun replied at a prodigious length. He imitated the bad example of the enfeebled Crawford in betraying cabinet secrets, a fault that candor compels one to pronounce as hardly excusable in either of them. He avowed he did propose the investigation of Jackson's conduct in 1818 by a court of inquiry for transcending authority. He justified his course and inveighed against Crawford for betraying the secret. Instead of taking and holding the high ground of declining to give the information sought on the idea that he was bound not to reveal cabinet secrets, Calhoun made the mistake, not only as above indicated, but exhibited the bad taste of persistently continuing the correspondence after Jackson had given him notice that friendly relations were forever at an end between them.

To the sneering allusion made to him by Calhoun Crawford wrote a long Philippic. *

It, however, like the letter to Forsyth written by him, bears not the slightest resemblance to the finished compositions, and speeches that emanated from him in his prime. It was not of that finish and strength that characterized his diplomatic papers while minister to France. The letter, upon the whole, though eminently illustrative of the rugged honesty and manliness which always characterized Crawford's intercourse with his fellows, is a wretched piece of composition, showing more of determined prejudice than of careful thought. True, it bears unmistakable traits of the author's mind, but the classical diction of the Crawford of 1811 is wanting, and the scintillations of his once colossal mind were now dimming, as his life was drifting into the sear and yellow leaf.

Calhoun never again regained the affection of the American people; driven from national power he bowed to the call of his native state, and in the United States senate he lived to expound and unfold to his displeased colleagues the unfortunate doctrine of nullification. History records him as becoming wholly sectionalized in feeling and conduct, but accords to him a giant mind and classes him one of the greatest logicians of any age. Strange it is that one so gifted should thus become so infatuated and mastered by so blight-

*See appendix for this document.

ing and poisonous a doctrine as nullification. The development of this heresy was nothing more nor less than a persistently powerful effort to overturn the fair political fabric of our government by the sophistry of fine spun theories and by purely metaphysical reasoning.

Crawford ever correctly contended that the right of revolution was the only right which a free people could have to resist tyranny and intolerable oppression.

Was there ever made a more admirable tribute to the head, heart and person of a great man than that drawn by Mr. Dudley of Crawford in the National Portrait Gallery? The reader will require of us no apology for reproducing it here:

"Mr. Crawford's house has often been styled 'Liberty Hall' by those familiar with the unrestrained mirthfulness, hilarity and social glee which marked his fireside; and the perfect freedom with which every child, from the eldest to the youngest, expressed his or her opinion upon the topics suggested by the moment, whether those topics referred to men or measures. His children were always encouraged to act out their respective characters precisely as they were, and the actions and sentiments of each were always a fair subject of commendation, or good-humored ridicule by the rest. They criticised the opinions and conduct of the father with the same freedom as those of each other, and he acknowledged his errors or argued his defense with the same kind spirit and good temper as distinguished his course toward them in every other case. The family government was one of the best specimens of democracy the world has ever seen. There was nothing like faction in the establishment. According to the last census, before marriage and emigration commenced, the population was ten, consisting of father and mother and eight children, of whom five are sons and three daughters. Suffrage on all questions was universal, extending to male and female. Freedom of speech and equal rights were felt and acknowledged to be the birthright of each. Knowledge was a common stock, to which each felt a peculiar pleasure in contributing according as opportunity enabled him. When afflictions or misfortunes came, each bore a share in the common burden. When health and prosperity returned, each became emulous of heightening the common joy. Chess, drafts and other games, involving calculation and judgment, and plays which called for rapid thought, quick perception and ready answers formed sources of indoor amusements. Those requiring vigor of nerve and agility of muscle were performed upon the green. In all these sports upon the green and in the house Mr. Crawford was, even down to his last days, the companion of his children, delighting them often by taking part himself. Though the disease of which he suffered so much while at Washington deprived him of his activity, his zeal for the gratification of his children, and his delight in contributing all he could to their happiness, knew no abatement. As a husband he was kind, affectionate and

devoted. He was never ostentatious in his attachment to anyone, always evincing his regard more by substantial beneficence than by words. No parent was ever better beloved of his children than he. He never contented himself with merely sending them to schools of highest and best repute, but made a personal examination of them almost every day, that he might see and know for himself how they progressed and how they were taught. He was in the habit of drawing them around him in a class, and requiring them to read to him. On these occasions the Bible was his chief class book, and Job and Psalms his favorite portions. The attention and instructions here mentioned were faithfully accorded during the whole time of his cabinet service at Washington, except during his extreme illness. After his return from Georgia, and his partial recovery from his disease, he still kept up an intimate acquaintance with the progress of his younger children, and the manner of their instruction at school, though his general debility prevented his being so indefatigable as he had been. At no time of his life did he ever lose sight of the importance of storing the minds of his children with virtuous principles. The strict observance of truth, the maintenance of honor, generosity and integrity of character, he never ceased to enjoin upon them as indispensable to respectability and happiness.

"It is not within the knowledge of any of his children that he was ever guilty of profane swearing. He never made a profession of religion, but was a decided believer in Christianity, a life member of the American Bible Society, a vice-president of the American Colonization Society, and a regular contributor to the support of the gospel."

In 1819 Judge Tait was appointed by President Monroe judge of the United States District Court of Alabama, which position he held most creditably for six years. The mutual friendship which existed between him and Crawford never weakened. It is a strange fact, however, to note that after all the rivalry and acrimony that existed between Tait and Clark and Tait and Griffin, that after Judge Griffin died, Tait married his widow. This good lady was the sister of Mrs. John Clark, and the daughter of Micajah Williamson. Judge Tait lived to be sixty-eight years of age, and died in Wilcox county, Alabama, on Oct. 7th, 1835. He died as he had lived, an upright Christian gentleman.

During the last years of his life Crawford was frequently urged to again apply for a seat in the senate. To this he was averse, as he yet articulated poorly. His sight being entirely restored, he spent much time in his library, and enjoyed reading a choice collection of books that he had gathered when in France. He was a believer in the genius of hard work, and was scarcely ever idle. He may be said to have literally died in harness.

When he left home on his way to Elbert Superior Court he was apparently in good health and spirits. He passed a day with Mrs. Dudley, his daughter, who had just presented him with another grandchild, and as usual (to use the expression of one of the family) "made a holiday in the house," such happiness did his presence ever diffuse. On Saturday the ensuing day he continued his journey, and stopped at the house of his friend, Mr. Valentine Meriwether, in Elbert county, where he expected to pass the night. During the day he felt somewhat indisposed. A physician of the family prescribed for him, and relieved the symptoms that excited anxiety. He retired early, but soon his anxious host heard a noise from within his chamber, and on entering found Mr. Crawford motionless and speechless. On the next day he was able to rise, but while sitting in his chair he fell into a swoon from which he never rallied, and death came at two o'clock the succeeding Monday morning, September 15th, 1834. He died apparently without pain or fear. The attending physician pronounced his disease an affection of the heart.

A great concourse followed him to the grave. They laid him to sleep at Woodlawn by the side of the grave of a little child, his two-year-old grandson who had preceded him some fifteen months. No other grave was there. Over the spot where he lies buried rests a broad marble slab in a horizontal position, about two and one-half feet above the earth. On this stone is engraved the words:

"Sacred to the memory of William H. Crawford; born 24th day of February, 1772; in Nelson County, Virginia; died the 15th day of September, 1834, in Oglethorpe county, Georgia. In the Legislature of Georgia, in the Senate of the United States, as minister to the Court of France, in the cabinet and on the bench he was alike independent, energetic, fearless and able. He died as he had lived—in the service of his country—and left behind him the unimpeachable fame of an honest man."

Mrs. Crawford lived to see her children educated and honored members of society. Nathaniel M. Crawford, the second son, was a distinguished clergyman, and president of Mercer University; Bibb became a distinguished physician; William H. Crawford, Jr., was a farmer, and an orator of no mean ability. The oft expressed wish of the father that none of his children would seek to follow the rocky road of politics was studiously observed by them all. Few great men have had so many direct descendants who have become so noted and useful in the various walks of life.

The proudest name that Georgia has given to history is

William Harris Crawford. He stood a giant in those giant days, and as a man he was the measure of all great things. In battle or in peace his strength was that of the conquerer. Whether he ruled in public affairs, or lived in the heart of home and friends, he was a prince among men.

"Full of years and honors, through the gate of painless slumber he retired.

As a river pure meets in his course a subterranean void,
Then dips his silver head, again to rise,

And rising glides through fields and meadows new;
So hath Olleus in those happy climes,

Where neither gloom nor sorrow shades the mind;
Where joys ne'er fade, nor soul's power decay,
But youth and spring eternal bloom."

FINIS.



APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

LETTER FROM YOUNG MEN OF AUGUSTA, GA.

AUGUSTA, 2d July, 1798.

To John Adams, President of the United States.: *

Sir: Whilst clouds darken our political horizon, whilst the ferocious frenzy of the "Terrible Republic" threatens the United States with bloodshed, massacres and desolation, we, the young men of the city of Augusta, deem it a duty in common with our fellow-citizens, to assure the chief executive magistrate of our unalterable attachment to our country and its government.

At the commencement of their Revolution we regarded the French nation as engaged in a glorious and just cause; the support of their political liberty, which unless the soul is debased by oppression or corrupted by avarice, neither nations or individuals will resign but with their lives. Viewing them in this light, we were proud of calling France a sister republic; we gloried Frenchmen by the endearing appellation of brothers.

Unwilling to form a hasty conclusion against a nation in whose favor we were thus prepossessed, we long wished to view the injuries and insults offered by them to the United States, their contempt of our government, through the medium of their ambassadors; their unrighteous and piratical attacks upon our commerce, as the usurped and nefarious acts of individuals, unsanctioned by their government.

But by the absolute rejection of all conciliatory measures, the French government has avowed the flagrant violation of our rights as a neutral nation and total disregard of their most solemn compacts to have been authorized by them; that indiscriminate rapine and universal empire, instead of peace and justice are their objects; and that no nation can receive their friendship without sacrificing its national independence.

Although we are attached to the blessings of peace, and deprecate the horrors of war, yet we are sensible that self-preservation now points out a firm and energetic conduct to our government; we view with the highest approbation those measures which have been pursued by the Executive for the preservation of our national honor.

As we enjoy the supreme felicity of being citizens of, perhaps, the only genuine and well-balanced republic now existing in the world, we feel a just contempt for a nation,

*This document furnished by Dr. U. Phillips, of Tulane University, who copied it from original now in Crawford family.

who can brand us with the imputation of being a divided people, and who presuming on our disunion, have left us only the awful alternative, disgraceful peace or — war!

With the most unlimited confidence in the firmness, justice and wisdom of your administration, we pledge ourselves to you and our fellow-citizens, that we will be ready at the call of our country to defend what is dearer to us than our lives, her liberty and laws.

W. H. CRAWFORD,
NATT COCKE,
ISHAM M. []
SAMUEL BARNETT,
JNO. M'KENNE,
GEO. WATKINS, Chairman.

By order of the meeting.

ANSWER.

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF THE CITY OF AUGUSTA, IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

Gentlemen: An address from the youth of Augusta, remote from the seat of government, and where I am personally wholly unknown is a very high gratification to my feelings.

Threats of bloodshed, massacre and desolation from the frenzy of any nation, however great, or any republic however terrible, at the distance of a thousand marine leagues, need not intimidate the American people, if they really feel like you an unalterable attachment to their country and government.

It has been my destiny to differ from my fellow-citizens in general in opinions concerning the French revolution. As a dispensation of Providence I have ever beheld it with reverence, unable, however, to comprehend any good principle sufficient to produce it, to see its tendency, or in what it would terminate—but the warm zeal, the violent attachment manifested to it by Americans I have ever believed to be an error of public opinion—it was none of our business—we had, or ought to have had, nothing to do with it, and I always believed we were making work for severe repentance. To me little time remains to live, and less, I hope, to have anything to do with public affairs; but I could neither die nor retire in peace, if at such a time as this, and in the station I now hold, I should conceal my sentiments from my fellow-citizens.

Self-preservation now points out a firm conduct to government, and your satisfaction in those measures which have been pursued for the preservation of our national honor is much esteemed. May you long live to rejoice in them and enjoy their happy effects.

It is a gratification to my pride to see you boast of a well-balanced republic; the essence of a free republic is in this balance—the security of liberty, property, character and life depends every moment on its preservation, and France

and America will be scourged by the rods of vengeance if they will not study and preserve that balance as the only ark of safety.

The expression of your confidence in my administration is the more precious, as it was unexpected.

JOHN ADAMS.

Philadelphia, July 20th, 1798.

JUDGE TAIT TO CRAWFORD. *

ELBERT, April 22d, 1813.

My Dear Sir: When we parted at Washington I had then no expectation that I should not see you again before you embarked for Europe. I expected we should have met on my road home. Having failed in that expectation, I had formed the resolution to meet you in Wilkes on your way to Augusta on Sunday next, but I have relinquished this design, because the personal parting of friends is generally attended with more pain than pleasure, and because I expect you will be surrounded with too great a crowd on the evening you may stay in Washington, in Georgia, for a friend or yourself to enjoy much satisfaction in social intercourse. But our long and unbroken friendship and the strong and indelible obligations I owe you will not permit me to suffer you to leave the United States without giving you this testimonial of my friendly attachment and of my best wishes for the increase of your fame, prosperity and happiness. With respect to the obligations I lie under to you, I cannot speak of them as I ought. Without referring to the circumstances on which they are founded I am free to declare that they are greater than I owe to any other man living. They are deeply and permanently impressed on my heart, and when I forget them may Heaven forget me.

The four last sessions we have served together in the United States Senate have but tended to enhance your qualifications as a public man, in my estimation; and I sincerely hope that your appointment as minister to France may prove to yourself and our country as fortunate as we all wish. But I am deliberately of the opinion that you would have been more useful by remaining in the senate. I fear we shall be borne down by the talent of the opposition. We have numbers, but we shall need an able and experienced man to lead us. But the die is cast. I have only to request that you will think of me occasionally. Permit me to suggest to you how interesting it would be to your friends at some future day to peruse your private journal, in which you may record your private thoughts on men and things while absent from your country. Such a record might be invaluable hereafter.

Wishing you every blessing, I am as I have been the last seventeen years, Your friend and humble servant,

C. TAIT.

The Hon. Wm. H. Crawford.

*This and the following eight letters copied from the originals in Alabama State Department of Archives and History and furnished by courtesy of Dr. Thomas M. Owens, of Montgomery, Ala.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

PARIS, 15th April, 1814.

Dear Judge: An opportunity offers which will probably be safe. It is the only one I have had since the departure of Mr. Dickens. At that time I was so busy in attending to the ceremony of my presentment at court that I could write but few letters. The one I wrote to Dr. Bibb was unofficial, and therefore as much your property as if it had been written to you. Your friend Dickens has behaved very badly here in money matters. His visit to Paris is somewhat unaccountable. He borrowed money at Havre to get to Paris; lived by borrowing during the whole time he was here, and borrowed money to take him back. All his bills were protested, but all have since been paid except Mr. Jackson's and Mr. Warden's. I presume he has been unable to reimburse them, but he ought not to have incurred an expense at the cost of men who had no right to be taxed with his wants. Mr. Jackson lent him more than 2,000 francs. * * Since the date of my letter to Dr. Bibb I have seen the Prince of Benevento. A physiognomy which more completely baffles the most skillful physiognomist cannot be imagined. He is excessively ugly, and refuses to speak English. The Duke of Vienna is a fine looking man. His countenance is strongly indicative of sagacity and promptitude. There is also an openness and frankness in his manner which does not characterize the most of his countrymen. I have seen Marshal Ney, Augereau, Lefebre, Moncey and Kellerman. The three first are large men. Ney is a fine looking man about the size of Colonel Graves, and not unlike him. He is a finer looking man than the Colonel was at his age. Augereau puts me in mind of Ebenezer Seaver of Massachusetts. Lefebre is not so good a looking man as either of the others. Moncey has the true French physiognomy, and Kellerman, who is very old, is small with rather a German face.

I saw a part of the battle of the 30th ult. in the Eastern Environs of Paris, and should have been upon Mount Martre when it was taken, or at least when the charge was made, if the officers at the barrier had permitted me to go out. Had I gone I presume I should have been able to have seen the danger, and to have made my retreat before the place was stormed. The Mount commands more than the half, and much the finest half of Paris. I enquired day after day if they had fortified it, and was always answered no. The day before the battle I walked all over it, and at 2 o'clock not a spade had been used, and not a piece of artillery was to be seen. About an hour after they carried up ten pieces of small calibre. The streets of the village were not barricaded. In fact, no precaution seems to have been taken. With a thousand men and a proper train of artillery with the entrenchments which these troops might have thrown up in three days I could have defended the place against the whole army for three days at least. The allies lost from eight to twelve thousand men. The loss of the French was inconsiderable, as their positions were very advantageous. The allied troops were repulsed four or five times at almost every posi-

tion. Their apprehension that the Emperor would arrive the next morning did not persuade them to lose time in maneuvering to turn these strong positions. They were all stormed, but the day from 4 a. m. to the same hour in the evening was spent in effecting it. Some few cannon balls were fired into the city and fell upon the Boulevard, which was further in the city than where I was at that moment. I saw nothing of these balls. The next day the Emperor Alexander and King of Prussia entered Paris at the head of about 50,000 of their chosen men. The Parisians, always delighted with a show, crowded the boulevards shouting "Vive-Alexander." This monarch, with his minister, Count Nesterode, went directly to the house of Tallérand, where they have continued until two days ago. The senate was convinced by this coming politician, and the same evening devised a provisional government, and placed him at the head of it. They charged this government with the care of drawing up a constitution, which they have subsequently adopted. In the meantime they deposed Napoleon, and the deposition so completely shook his authority with his superior officers that he was unable to move. Marmont was the first who deserted him. The troops seem to have adhered to him much more firmly than the officers. When he found that a civil war was inevitable he abdicated the crown in favor of the King of Rome, but the allies replied that they had gone too far with the Bourbons. And yet their friends say that it was only on Mount Martre that they determined to dethrone him. His abdication was tendered on the 4th of April, at which time it was impossible that they could have contracted any engagements with the Bourbons in consequence of what they resolved on Mount Martre. I have no doubt that the deepest duplicity was practiced by the allies, and the blind arrogance of Napoleon aided their efforts. I should not be surprised if he has fallen a victim to some old woman's prediction, in which he has blindly confided. It is probable that he would still have baffled their exertions if he had kept between them and Paris. After the attack he made upon the grand army of the allies at Bar Sur Aube, in which he was repulsed, he took the determination of throwing himself in their rear and of cutting off their baggage and magazines. In this he succeeded, but they determined to abandon their baggage for the sake of getting to Paris, took measures to cover their designs, and completely succeeded. The result has justified the measure. The allies themselves, notwithstanding the immense superiority of men which they possessed, admitted that the issue of the campaign was doubtful unless the French nation should put an end to it by his deposition. To avail themselves of the senate and of the Parisians, whom they affect to consider as the nation, they have spared Paris, and no doubt, do make great exertions to preserve order and prevent abuse and pillage. They shoot the Cossacks every day, and knout the Russians, but notwithstanding all this, the country up to the walls of Paris is desolated by these brigands. Their venereal propensities lead them to prefer the old to the young women, so that the virginity of the French ladies has not suffered much from their forcible embraces.

It seems that Napoleon retains the title of Emperor, with a salary for himself and family of 6,000,000 francs, and the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba. The King of Rome retains his title for life, and at his majority is to be Duke of Playance and Parma. He is to be educated by the Emperor of Austria. The Empress Josephine is Duchess of Navarre, and the Vice Roy is to have a hereditary establishment guaranteed by the Allies. Such is the end of the wild and unbounded ambition of a great man, who has been the spoiled child of fortune. The manner in which he has descended from the dazzling elevation to which he had raised himself is wholly inconsistent with his past conduct. In all the battles he fought after he joined his army he exposed himself as much as when he had to establish his reputation. I presume it is a very unpleasant reflection to a man whose whole life has been familiar with shedding blood to be under the necessity of leaving this world deliberately. All military men agree that his maneuvers have been skillful, with the exception of his last step of throwing himself on the rear of the Allies. Had they pursued the course which he conjectured they would, had they made an effort to save their baggage and magazines, he would have been able to draw out the garrisons in his rear and have collected a formidable army which must have greatly disquieted them, if it had not succeeded in cutting off their retreat. That they would have marched to Paris under such circumstances, unless they had determined to pursue the course they have, I cannot believe. I therefore give no credit to Lord Cathcart's story of the Mount Martre council. The thing is wholly incredible. From the moment that the allies entered Paris the Parisians have been endeavoring to flatter them out of contributions. To effect this they abuse Bonaparte and praise them. I should not be surprised if their love, their veneration, their admiration and devotion should go even so far as to invite Alexander to be their Emperor; and if that cannot be, to leave them his beloved brother Constantine. There is no meanness, no degradation to which French servility will not stoop to serve their interest.

They are now playing off the same game upon Lord Castlereagh to get back their colonies. Time alone can determine their success. I have read with attention the addresses of adhesion to the new order of things. Two-thirds of them are intended only to show their slavish devotion to the will of a master. *Leur devotion sans bornes pour le legitime successeur de Louis seize eclate de moment au moment.* If this frivolity, this inability, was merely the result of the instability of their character they might command our compassion instead of our contempt. This is not the case. Interest, the most sordid, the most disgraceful, is the exciting cause to all this flummery, this high-sounding nonsensical flattery. Each one expects to be paid for his disgraceful servility by place, by pension, by royal favor in some of the various forms in which it can be dispensed. If the new King was a saint as infallible as the successor of St. Peter was formerly believed to be, he would be corrupted in less than twelve months by the incense of flattery which he will inhale at every breath. Even Talleraud talks to Count D'Artois of his celestian goodness.

I have endeavored by every means in my power to guard them against suffering the ancient Dynasty's return, with all their ancient prerogatives. I have suggested that they ought not to suffer him to land until he had subscribed and sworn to the new constitution. His declaration made in February, 1812, evidently proceeds upon the ground that he possessed all the political power of the nation. The shameful solicitude which the senate has shown for their places, and especially for their dotations (sic), is very unpopular, and will enable the King to put them at defiance if he chooses to do it. Yesterday they have surrendered the provisional government to Count D'Artois, without imposing any obligation upon him, to cause the King to accept the new constitution. He, in fact, tells them that most of the things contained in their constitution enter into the King's views as being necessary basis of the government. But they are to be the basis, because the King thinks them so, or because the nation has determined that it shall be so. No, nothing of this—no intimation that the nation has a right to think upon the subject. It is believed, and there is reason for it, that the constitution has been approved by the Emperor of Russia before it was submitted to the senate, and that he had pledged himself to compel the King to accept it. With his air of moderation he governs the coalition very absolutely. It is said that Turkey has declared war against Russia. It is also said that England is to take 80,000 Russians from some port on the channel and carry them home by water, to enable them to meet the musselmen. If they would take them all it would be a happy thing for Germany and Poland. Most of the Cossacks have two or three horses.

Remember me affectionately to all my friends, and accept the assurance of my sincere regard.

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

PARIS, 29th August, 1814.

Dear Judge: Since the date of my last I have received letters from my friends as late as the 14th of June last. The latest date was from Mrs. Crawford. I was disappointed in receiving none from you, Bibb, Barnett or Hale by the French vessel. This opportunity was so safe and direct that I wonder how you could fail to avail yourself of it. I was informed of the sailing of this vessel only twenty-four hours before my dispatches were required to be in readiness. This left me time only to prepare my official dispatches, and to write a short letter to Mrs. Crawford.

Things go on here much as you would expect. A middle course between the old and new nobility offends both sides. Apprehensions of a change to the disadvantage of the new made men are strong, and disquiet the court and the nation. It is said that some of the members of the royal family have not been discreet in the disclosure of the views of the court to bring everything gradually to the state in which they were in the year 1788. I believe this to be impossible. If it is attempted resistance will be made by the con-

stituted authorities, and that resistance will probably be successful. I believe the present King will not make the effort. Monsieur, who is more of a dasher than the King, may engage in this hazardous enterprise. The nation seems to have deliberately determined that the imposition of taxes shall rest with the legislature. That the freedom of worship, the validity of the sales of national property and the abolition of tithes shall not even be agitated. All the acts of the two legislative bodies, as far as they have been made public, show a settled and unalterable opinion upon these questions. The liberty of the press will probably be fettered until the year 1817, and I should not be surprised if the previous censure should be continued indefinitely. When most of the public characters are so extremely vulnerable it is not wonderful that they should shrink instinctively from the scourge which the liberty of the press would hold suspended over their heads.

The History of St. Cloud by Goldsmith, which you have had eight or ten years, has just been translated and published in France. The sensation it has produced has been great, and it is said had a decided influence upon the decision of the deputies upon the bill regulating the liberty of the press. It is pronounced here to be the most false and libellous book which has ever been written.

In the House of Peers it is said that this bill is likely to undergo some additional amendments. This house will insist upon the insertion of a clause declaring that the censure is submitted to, only temporarily, on account of the particular situation of the nation in passing from one government to another, and that the previous censure can be endured only on that account. Except in the points I have indicated the influence of the court will carry all before it for some time to come. The election of new deputies will take place before the year 1816. General LaFayette's friends think he will be called to the peerage before that event, as they believe the court would prefer his being in that house to the other. He will certainly be in the legislature after the first elections. I shall keep this letter open until the sailing of the Neptune, and if anything occurs I will add it. The question of peace must be decided upon before that event. I have no expectation of a favorable result. I am, dear Judge, most sincerely

Hon. Chas. Tait.

your friend, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

10th September.

This morning I received information that the Chauncey was daily expected in the neighborhood of Ghent, and that she would immediately sail as a cartel for the United States. Mr. Connell, who will be the bearer of these dispatches, will leave Paris at 9 o'clock. I have but a few minutes to devote to you. I presume the dispatches which he will carry will convince the nation that peace can be obtained only by united and vigorous exertions. The arrogance of the enemy can alone bring us to a sense of our duty; and in some gloomy moments I am apprehensive that even this will prove insufficient to subdue the virulence of the Boston leaders. When I have read the toasts which have been drunk, and the proceedings

which have taken place in that town I have blushed for my countrymen. The demon of discord seems to have obtained a complete ascendancy over the minds of these infuriated men.

I anxiously look forward to the moment when I shall rejoin my friends. The crisis is imperious, and requires decision in the cabinet and firmness in the legislature. That tenderness for the feelings of unfaithful, or incapable officers, which has already produced so much mischief must be discarded. The President owes it to the nation and to himself to rectify as far as possible the many errors which must inevitably have been committed in the appointment of so many officers. When I return the question of further service will depend upon the state of Georgia, or upon the people. Having voted for the war, I shall decline no call which it may make upon me, but as I have already sacrificed much, I shall not feel myself bound to solicit employment. My private affairs and my increasing family will give full employment to all my faculties, so that I am in no danger of dying with ennui upon quitting the public service. As we had so many ministers in Europe I expected my place would be easily filled.

W. H. C.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

PARIS, 12th Oct., 1814.

Dear Judge: I have just received a letter from Mr. Dickins, stating that he expects to embark about the 18th or 20th inst. for the United States, and offering to take charge of any letters which I shall send to him. The shortness of the notice will not permit me to write to any of my friends but you. This is the fourth letter which I have written to you; in return I have received one.

Your former acquaintance with Mr. Dickins, and the situation in which he will arrive in the United States will give him a strong claim to your sympathy, and to your exertions to be useful to him, without the interposition of my wishes. He is a sensible, and I believe, a worthy man, not very enterprising or very provident. It is hardly necessary to add that he is very poor, with a large family to support. The circumstances to which I alluded in one of my former letters have been explained and adjusted to my entire satisfaction. He will, like most men in his situation, endeavor to obtain an office from the government, which will enable him to live until the return of peace. I have recommended him to you, and he will naturally apply to his relative, Mr. Alston. It is probable that the destruction of the capitol will cause the present session of congress to be held at Philadelphia or Lancaster. In this event many of the clerks and persons attached to the different officers who are settled at Washington and have any other means of living will not follow the government. If so you may possibly get him into some of them. He is qualified for any of them.

The capture of Washington is an event that I had been

looking for until about one week before the news reached me. Mr. Boyd, who preceded it about a week, removed all apprehension of such a disaster. You may well judge of my feelings upon this occasion. The impression here and in England is that we must now accept of any terms which shall be offered to us. This arises from their total ignorance of the United States. When Paris was taken the allies, and especially England, supposed France was conquered. The arrogance of England leads her to suppose that she conquered France, and the capture of Washington is thought by the true John Bulls to complete the conquest of the United States.

What the sensation has been in the United States I have yet to learn. I fear that there is but little patriotism in the nation. Party animosity in the eastern states has so deeply infected the minds of the leaders of the Federal party in Massachusetts that they would much rather fight the Southern people than the enemy. So thoroughly am I disgusted with this class of men that I would willingly consent that New England should separate if they would agree upon it among themselves. This, however, I believe is impracticable, and we must not think of it. We must do the best we can with them. I see they very modestly insist upon every department of the government, except the treasury, which is to be given to a man of talent and probity, but whose claim to Republicanism rests upon very questionable evidence. Their propositions are wholly inadmissible. The President must retain in his cabinet a majority of those who are attached to his political principles, and feel a proper regard for his reputation. Consistently with this principle I would take Federalists into the cabinet as soon as they manifest a national feeling and national spirit. I hope they will do this, and if they do the continuance of the war will be advantageous to us as a nation. We ought to desire peace until we have formed officers and men upon whom we can rely in the hour of danger. When I say we ought not to desire peace I mean to be understood to assert that the true interest of the nation requires that the war should be prosecuted until this object is effected, but the immediate interest of the nation which will always have more influence than its future interests would induce me to make peace, if it could be obtained upon just terms. I am sensible that a peace made at the present moment would place us in a situation to compel us to participate in the first war in which England should embroil herself. If we make peace now the impression in Europe will be that we are indebted for it, to the moderation and magnanimity of our adversary. This idea is utterly false, and cannot fail to be extremely injurious to us, not only with England, but with all the maritime states of Europe. My impression is that the congress at Vienna will amicably arrange all the conflicting interests of the continent. In this event the war will be prosecuted with increased activity in the next campaign. I trust, however, that our means of annoyance and of defense will be greatly increased. In all my letters I have stated that we must expect nothing but disasters this campaign. The news is therefore better than I had anticipated. The battles

upon the Niagara reflect the brightest credit upon our officers and men. I am greatly rejoiced to see that Porter has redeemed the disgrace which his political tergiversation during his last congressional term of service had imparted upon his character. Brown's report of the actions of Chippewa and Bridgewater are the best official reports of actions which the files of the war department furnish. I did not blush when I read it. They are the first reports of our regular generals which have not crimsoned my cheeks. Scott is a most gallant fellow. Brown must have a gift for fighting. I hope Gaines and Ripley will be found equal to the other two. I regret the censure which has been thrown upon the latter. The loss of the two first in command—the total derangement of every regulation battalion and company must have made it extremely hazardous to risk an action the next day. He being the only general was another consideration of moment. The enemy upon the Niagara ought to be captured before this time. The difficulty of supplying them with provisions will prevent considerable reinforcements from being sent up by land. They cannot return by water. The militia ought to rise en masse and overwhelm them. Their capture removes the war to a great distance from their frontiers. The great mass of our regular troops ought to act against Canada. There the enemy cannot avoid an action when they please. They cannot there embark, and re-embark after doing all the mischief they can, as they do on the Atlantic frontier. There then we ought to act offensively against them, and of course there the principal part or our regular troops ought to be employed. If we can drive them into Quebec before the close of the next campaign we may possibly make peace in the course of the following winter. If not, and we prosecute the war with vigor we shall command a peace the next winter. If the troops are withdrawn from the northern frontier the back country will be ravaged whilst the protection on the sea coast will be far from effectual. I feel much solicitude on this question, as I know that a clamor will be raised and great exertions will be made to draw the regular troops to the coast. The duties of congress are now ardent indeed, and the solicitude which you must feel cannot but be great. Wise and firm measures must not only be adopted, but an impulse must be given to the nation. How is this to be done? Perhaps the enemy has done more for you in this regard than you could have done for yourselves. I hope this will be found true.

In this country the hatred of the English is stronger than it has ever been. If it was possible to transport troops to the United States we should have an army there immediately of the best troops in the world. I should not be surprised if attempts are made to transport soldiers to the United States before the spring. The feelings of the nation are not those of the government. I cannot say that the government is absolutely hostile to the United States, but the distrust which it entertains of the army, and the deep conviction which it feels of the necessity of peace, added to the arrogance of the British ministry, produces in relation to us most of the consequences of hostility. How long this state

of things will last is impossible to foresee. The congress at Vienna may tranquillize the troubled state of things upon the continent generally. It is, however, improbable that anything that can be done there can have any direct influence upon the internal affairs of France. It is difficult to conceive of a situation more critical and delicate than that of the royal family at this moment. The ministry is weak, the King undecided and the other members of the family frequently indiscreet. Distrust pervades every class of the people. France is now a great political volcano, ready to explode with the first spark which may be elicited from the frequent collisions which are every day produced by the disposition of the minister of the interior to bring things back to the state they were in prior to the Revolution. The feasts and dinners which are given among the old and the new military is a farce which cannot veil the discontents which burst forth daily between these discordant materials. Perhaps the only ground of safety which for the present order of things is the discordance between the real friends of civil liberty and the army. The latter wish to restore the Emperor. The former prefer the King, only because he has less talent, and that therefore there is a better chance of establishing the rational liberty of the subject. They have as little confidence in the sincerity or liberality of the one as the other. All those who had an agency in dethroning the Emperor will of course exert themselves to the utmost to prevent his return. Notwithstanding the discontents of the army, of the friends of rational liberty, and the blunders and folly of the government, I am inclined to believe that no change will take place, at least, for some time. I am, dear sir, yours, etc.

P. S.—As this letter passes through England I shall not sign it, as some of my letters have miscarried.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

LEXINGTON, 2d October, 1820.

My Dear Sir: Since my visit to this state I have answered your favor inquiring whether your letter of November last, with its enclosure, was received. Lest some accident may happen so that it may not have reached you I repeat that the letter of November, with its enclosure, was received, and that it was answered without delay.

I have lately seen the pamphlet which you inquired of from Mr. Cobb, but have not been able to obtain a copy for myself. The old publications of 1804 and 1806, with the certificates and depositions which accompanied them, together with a few others of the same stamp, are comprehended in this book. The history of the challenges of 1804 and of 1806, together with a most exaggerated account of his attack upon you, and the certificates and depositions taken by him against the agent, with a voluminous commentary upon the whole, form the remainder of the pamphlet. He says that he is of the opinion that I was concerned in the illicit introduction

of slavery into this state in 1817-'18, simply because he believes I had some agency in the appointment of the agent, and because I did not cause his conduct to be investigated. He shows at the same time that the agent was not appointed for several months after I had left the department, and of course ceased to have any control over the office or officer.

The object of the pamphlet is in the first place to affect my standing in the United States. Second, to raise himself; and, third, to assail you and harrow up your feelings as well as my own. I believe he will fail in his first and second objects. The third he will no doubt partially succeed in, as it is impossible not to feel indignation at the base insinuations with which the book is filled, and the republication of all his false certificates after the lapse of fourteen or fifteen years when he has no recent provocation to urge is evidence of the greatest depravity and of the blackest malignity. The viper, however, bites the file. He will do himself more injury than anybody else. I am not determined whether it ought to be noticed, and cannot make up any conclusive opinion upon it until I give it another perusal, which will probably not be before I reach Washington, as it is likely that I may not see the pamphlet before I arrive at that place. He has, I understand, forwarded copies to the President, heads of departments, governors of the states, generals of the army and many others. I shall therefore be sure of a copy when I get there.

We have nothing authentic from Spain from which any rational conjecture can be formed of the ultimate issue of the question depending between it and the United States. At least I know nothing but what is to be found in the newspapers, and probably not all that is contained in them, as I see them very irregularly.

The election takes place this day. The morning has been excessively wet. It is now 10 o'clock, and continues to rain. If so the election will be thin, and the result may be very different from what it would have been had the day been good. Great efforts have been made to exclude Cobb, and his want of prudence has aided them much. I hope, however, that he will be elected.

Give my respects to your son and daughter, and accept the assurance of the sincere friendship with which I remain.

Your most obedient servant,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Hon. C. Tait.

CRAWFORD TO HALL.

WASHINGTON, 20th November, 1821.

My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 17th of September has been received by due course of mail.

Yesterday I received the intelligence of Clark's re-election to the office of governor by two votes over Troup, being the number necessary to elect him and none to spare.

"Whatever is, is right," is a comfortable doctrine, if it

be sincerely believed. I cannot say that I am thoroughly convinced of its truth, either from reason or revelation. I am sometimes tempted to believe that no one does thoroughly realize the truth of it in his inmost convictions at some moments of his life. I think it not improbable that when things go very much against a man's interest, and his conviction of what is right, in the abstract he is very much like the Irishman who had been hired by a bribe of ten guineas to turn Roman Catholic. After the ceremony was finished and the money was put into his hands, he looked at it, and after a short silence said: "I think you ought to add ten more to it." Upon being asked why he replied: "Because it is so d—d hard to believe in transubstantion." Now, I presume the Governor and his friends are ready to subscribe to the doctrine, whilst I cannot believe, by any effort of my understanding, that it is right for so corrupt and vindictive a man should be the governor of the state. However, I can do as well as others. I shall, I trust, never have favors to ask of the state, and certainly I would not accept one from it which was to be effected through him as the organ. I presume there is great joy in one of the departments, at least, at this place, but I cannot believe that any combination of circumstances can give the vote of the state to him, except that of his being nominated by a caucus, under such circumstances as to exclude competition, or the exercise of discretion by the people. It is now generally understood that New York and Pennsylvania are entirely adverse to his pretensions. Where he is to be supported out of New England, South Carolina and Alabama I know not—perhaps in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. In Kentucky and Virginia, I understand, he cherishes the expectation of support. In both I am persuaded he will fail. In Vermont and Maine he will also be likely to fail. How far he will succeed in South Carolina and Alabama I am not able to conjecture. Your governor, as well as ours, will, it is presumed, be for him, or anybody else if my name should be held up.

I remember the declaration which you mention in your letter made by Colonel Taylor concerning Mr. Calhoun. I thought it illiberal at the time; I must now suspend my opinion upon it for new light. I also remember your suggestions during the same winter. I thought you both did him injustice at the time. Had I thought with you then he would not now be the Secretary of War. I will write you at length after the adjournment of the present session of congress. I think I shall make my determination by that time, and that I shall eat my Christmas dinner in Oglethorpe next year. Such is my present impression. Why should I suffer myself to be made a mark at which every unprincipled knave shall direct the shafts of calumny and detraction for years, in order to take upon myself, if success should attend the exertions of my friends, the responsibility of governing 10,000,000 of people? I am already weary and disgusted in anticipation. What then will be the reality? But, the spring will decide it. I will retire then, or make up my mind to suffer two years more.

Crops of corn in this part of the country, and from here

to the New England states, are very short. From the 1st to the 20th of July it rained every day—from that time to the 28th of August we had rain. September was dry, varied by light showers. From the 1st of August to this time my house has been a hospital. Sometimes seven of the whole family were in bed at a time, and three servants. All the children have had at least two attacks, and some four or five. I had a very severe one. Mrs. Crawford, on the 14th of September, added another son to our family—was remarkably well after it—but on the 28th was seized with bilious fever, from which she is not yet well recovered. I was taken on the 9th of the same month, and was confined to my bed for nearly three weeks. We are now, however, nearly recovered. We are thankful, indeed, that in so much disease and distress no case of mortality has occurred in the family. We have more than double the affliction this summer than what has occurred since we had a family.

I think the Nankin cotton must be an acceptable article to the Eastern manufacturers. It is of a superior kind to that which we had twenty years ago. My nephew writes me that what he raised last year is greatly superior in color to any he ever saw. I can send you some of the seed, which, however, is two years old. I tried some of the seed this fall, and they came up. I will send you some of the Malta clover seed. It will not do here—the winters are too cold. Perhaps it will stand your winters.

Give my respects to Mrs. Hall and the members of your family, respectively. Tell Mrs. Bibb that we call our youngest son W. W. Bibb—the latter will be his ordinary name.

I remain respectfully yours, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

B. Hall, Esq.

P. S.—Your letter of the 18th of October has also been received, and has been, in fact, answered, although not expressly acknowledged in the body of this letter. If you wish more of the Nankin cotton seed I will send you some more of it.

W. H. C.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

WASHINGTON, 3d June, 1822.

My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 26th of April last was received the day before congress adjourned. With sincere pleasure I tender to you and Mrs. Tait my congratulations upon the happy change which has just taken place in your situations. You may now look forward to the decline of life with a rational prospect of enjoying as much happiness as falls to the lot of humanity in that stage of human existence.

My family having had frequent returns of bilious fever through the winter and up to the present time, I have determined to take the whole of them to Georgia, and shall leave this place about the first of next month, and expect to reach Oglethorpe about the last of it. I believe that this journey is the best means of restoring them to the enjoyment

of health that is in my power. I shall remain in the state until about the 10th of September, and then return by easy journey so as to reach this place about the first week of October. I need not tell you how much pleasure I would receive from meeting you there.

You will have seen from the newspapers the course which things have taken here. The Missouri question, and the election of Jno. W. Taylor over Mr. Lowndes as Speaker, produced an impression that a geographical party had been formed which for several years would control the course of events. Mr. Calhoun seems to have been deeply impressed with this idea, supposing, however, that the election of an eastern President, independent of this consideration, would be more likely to secure to the South the office of President in the year 1832 than if it had continued there until that period. Mr. Calhoun, during that session and through the whole of the last year until after the meeting of congress, is understood to have openly supported the pretensions of Mr. Adams. I have used the impression understood, but it is a fact susceptible of the most conclusive evidence. It is possible, however, that it will be denied. His attention, however, was unremittedly fixed upon the election of governor in Georgia. He stated to a gentleman in this place in August that he considered the election to be between the Governor and myself, and not between him and Colonel Troup; and that if Clark was elected he considered that the state of Georgia would be against me as President. About this time, it is presumed, he became convinced that the geographical feeling which he supposed in the winter to have been dominant no longer existed, and that if I was rejected by Georgia I would not be supported out of it, and that consequently, if the Governor should be re-elected the Southern interest would be derelict, and might be seized by the first adventurer. Under this impression, and to be prepared for events, he made a tour through Pennsylvania, "the old stamping ground," "his native state." Shortly after his return he gave me the most distinct assurances that he would under no circumstances suffer his name to be put up for the Presidency. The assurances were wholly voluntary, and not called for by anything I had said to him, and he repeated twice that if my friends did not act an unfriendly part towards him it was easy to foresee the course we should pursue in relation to the Presidential election, having previously said that there would be but two persons brought forward for that office, viz: One from the East and one from the South. This was the 12th of October. I had stated to him at the same time that I believed the Governor would be re-elected. It is presumed that these assurances and professions were made with a view to conciliate me and my friends, under the impression that the re-election of the Governor would be admitted by them and me, to place me out of view.

Immediately after the meeting of congress his name was put up, and reports were circulated that the whole Pennsylvania delegation were for him, whereas it is well understood that T. J. Rodgers and Patrick Findly, two Irishmen, were the only members from the state that were for him, or are

for him now, at least of the Republicans. It is presumed that Mr. Lowndes' nomination at Columbia proceeded from the same idea, viz: That the Southern interest had become derelict by the election of the Governor of Georgia. This idea, or rather the assertion that his election was a rejection of me by the state, appeared in the Charleston papers that announced that election. The nomination of Mr. L..... was most unfortunate for him. He is an amiable man of fine talents, but one that but few, if any, had ever thought of for that office, the general impression being that he is not well qualified for executive duties.

It is possible that Mr. C..... has by this time seen that his impressions as to the effect of the Georgia election are erroneous. Indeed, it is well known that he is undeceived on that point, but he has put too many springs in motion, and is too sanguine by nature to think of retracing his steps, if it was now practicable. He has, by his temper and want of judgment, to say nothing more, involved the President in a controversy with the senate, which I am fearful will not be amicably adjusted. This circumstance, however, is adroitly wielded by him or his friends to sow dissension between the President and me. I have been accused by them of having the nominations of Colonels Towson and Gadsden rejected. By the bye, the latter, when Mr. C..... came into office, at least in the same year, was a lieutenant in the corps of engineers; in June, 1821, was made adjutant general and placed at the head of the staff of the army; yet there has been no favoritism. After all these exertions it is consolatory to be well assured that he has no possible chance of success. When I see you I will let you into some secrets relative to his true character that will astonish you as much as they did me.

Mr. R. King told General Lacock that he C..... had then more secret agents running through New York than DeWitt Clinton had in Pennsylvania in 1812. He said such things were abominable, and ought to be put down. All this, however, is *entre nous*.

Colonel King has said that he expected that either you or Wm. Crawford would be his successor. I do not know whether he expects that this will be without or with his consent. It is believed by some that he expects a mission to South America. General Dearborn's appointment to Lisbon has surprised everybody that I have heard from. Sanford and General Smith wished it, and I suppose twenty others would have had it that were at least as well qualified for it.

There will be no Presidential candidate in New York. This, I believe, is well ascertained. Mr. C.....'s name is before the public.

I wish most sincerely that you may return to the senate. Your recent union will oppose no obstacle to it, as you will be able to bring madam with you.

I remain, dear sir, your friend, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD,

Hon. Charles Tait.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

CHEROKEE CORNER, GA., 17th Sept. 1822.

Dear, Judge: Your letters of the 28th of July and August have been duly received at Lexington, which I reached on the 29th of the former month. My family have entirely recovered their health. I shall leave John in college, where he will finish his studies with those who will be his contemporaries and companions through life. Macon is qualified to enter, but he is too young. Two years hence I shall probably place him there.

I have received a letter from Mr. Hall which gives nearly the same news of the result of your elections that you have presented. I hope the other parts of the state have done as well. I have heard nothing of the probability of Colonel King's employment abroad, nor do I know whether he intends to continue in the senate. From the contents of a letter from P. Williamson which Dr. Johnson read to me, I infer that it was the understanding of the writer that the Colonel intends to hold a poll.

I am fearful that Major Walker will resign his seat in the senate. I hope, however, he will regulate his conduct by the prospect before him relative to his successor. I have heard nothing from him since he left Washington.

The bickering between the editors of the *Intelligencer* and *National Advocate* is not very intelligible. The former are very solicitous to postpone all discussion upon the subject of the approaching election until after the next session of congress. The latter, though agreeing that the discussion last winter was premature, thinks that no inconvenience will result from keeping the subject before the public, in a particular way, and to a particular extent. They agree, I believe, upon the person who is to be supported, if nothing should occur between this time and the period when the selection is to be made to change materially public opinion. Such is the present impression with those who are in the secrets of the editors, or believe they are.

You have probably seen, or will see, an extract of a letter from a Louisiana paper published in a Lexington paper, in which it is asserted that Mr. Clay is the favorite in New York. The papers of that city ridicule the writer, and the *Advocate*, after scouting the idea that any party in the state ever thought of Mr. Clay, closes the article by saying that when the time arrives for action "New York will show her hand."

The nomination of General Jackson by Tennessee can produce no effect whatever, unless it should affect the election of Colonel Williams to the senate. I am fearful that it was intended more for that purpose than any other. There is no other state in the Union that will take him for President.

In this state things go on pretty much in the old way. The Governor has declared that the absence of Colonel Hammond from Milledgeville has vacated the office, and has in consequence of this determination filled the vacancy. Much excitement has been produced in the state, and present appear-

ances warrant the conclusion that he has lost considerably in the public estimation. Many of his firm supporters heretofore have declared their abandonment of him, but it is probable that many of those who disapprove of the act will continue their general support of the man. The act itself is both ridiculous and corrupt. If absence from the place where the duties are to be performed creates a vacancy the office of the executive has been vacated every year since he has been in office. If the principle is correct as to one ministerial or executive office, it is as to all, and I see no reason for exempting judicial offices from the same rule. But his excellency defends the measure on the ground that he intended originally only to make a provisional appointment until the Secretary should return. This is more ridiculous than his enemies could have expected from him. If the vacancy was created he had no right to prescribe terms to the person appointed, who constitutionally must hold, unless he should voluntarily resign, until the legislature should elect to the vacancy. The pretense that he has at first thought to appoint Thos. Crawford, a son of Peter Crawford, will not be believed by any one. Plain truth has therefore made the matter worse. The means resorted to to obtain possession of the office are as inconsistent with the principles of our government as the construction resorted to to create the vacancy. If Hammond had been disposed to resist force by force, to repossess himself of the office, the people of the place would have ousted his opponent in a moment. I presume he took legal advice, and was governed accordingly.

I have just heard that S. W. Harris is dead. I am afraid the news is true. It comes tolerably direct. If he is dead I think General Glascock will be elected. Forsyth, Cobb, Tannall and Abbott are certain. The other three members must be made up from Cary, Golding, Cuthbert, Haynes, Thompson and Glascock. The first will probably be sure, and also the two last, but nothing certain can be predicted as to the last.

Great exertions will be made by the friends of Mr. Calhoun to prevent the election of Judge Smith in South Carolina, but I presume without effect. In this state there will be no opposition. In North Carolina B. Yancey will probably oppose General Stokes, and be successful. In Virginia Pleasants will, it is presumed, be re-elected without opposition. In Maryland it is probable that General Smith will succeed Mr. Pinckney. Lloyd has succeeded H. G. Otis, and has been elected in opposition to the Federal caucus nomination (Webster) and will be with us. Richard C. Anderson, it is understood, will oppose R. M. Johnson, and will probably succeed. If Poindexter falls against Rankin it is likely he will run against Thos. H. Williams for the senate.

Such are the prospects before us. I will write you again before I leave the state, which will not be before the 9th of October. I remain, dear Judge, yours, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Hon. C. Tait.

P. S.—Present my respects to Mrs. Tait, together with those of Mrs. C.

W. H. C.

CRAWFORD TO TAIT.

Confidential.

WASHINGTON, 16th February, 1823.

My Dear Sir: Your letter, enclosing the result of the senatorial elections in your state, has been received by due course of mail. The proceedings in relation to them have produced, or given full development to, feelings of great acerbity towards me, in the bosom of Wm. R. King; and I presume his colleague had already cherished the same feelings towards me, without ever having seen me.

Reports had reached me before Colonel King's arrival here that I had written letters to Alabama to prevent his election, directing that you should be elected, and declaring that he should be provided with a land office. One of these letters were said to have been written to you. I authorized the gentleman to whom the communication had been made to contradict the reports. When the colonel arrived I understood that he had heard the same reports, and was very wroth. The first time I saw him I stated to him that I had understood that he had heard such reports. He admitted that he had. I informed him that I had never interfered in the elections of any state except in those of the state of which I was a citizen, and that I made this declaration from motives of self-respect, and not from a desire to produce any effect upon the political course he might think proper to pursue. He expressed his satisfaction upon the occasion, and declared that he had not given implicit confidence to these reports.

You will perceive by the newspapers that an insidious conspiracy has been formed against me by N'lian Edwards & Company, of which Cook has again been made the cat's paw. The facts of the case are too glaring to deceive anyone, and they are now writhing under the effects of their own villany. Hugh Nelson of Virginia, the confidential friend of the President, is of the number of this reputable group of conspirators. Samuel D. Ingham and Gabriel Moore are working coadjutors in this laudable undertaking.

I am passing through a fiery trial, the result of which it is not easy to foresee. Mr. Clay is here, in the full exercise of his power of pleasing and cajoling. There is, however, such a thing as overrating, and in his efforts he is continually between Scylla and Charybdis. The gentleman from South Carolina is understood to be hors du combat, having consigned his forces, that were disposable, to an Eastern general. Such at least are the impressions here. The latter gentleman is apparently more formidable than he was twelve months ago. Some, however, think that appearances in his case are deceptive, and that in fact, he is not stronger than he was at that time.

Well! What do you think? They have declared me a Federalist in 1798. An address to John Adams in that year by the young men of Augusta is the evidence offered to establish the fact. That I was a member of the committee that drew up the address I admit, but that I ever assented to the last paragraph of it, as republished, I know to be untrue. I

am inclined to believe the paragraph as printed to be spurious. I recollect distinctly that I endeavored to keep out of it everything like an expression of approbation of Mr. Adams' administration; and the old man's reply, which was in fact (and was so considered at the time), a reprimand. In his last paragraph he said, according to my recollection of it, "That our assurance of attachment to the constitution and laws of the country was the more precious, as it came from a quarter least expected." Such, I believe, to be the substance and nearly, if not absolutely, the words. If the paragraph of the address to which I have alluded is not falsified he had no reason to be out of humor with it.

In a case of this nature, even if I did assent to such a declaration, and I know I never did, that assent cannot outweigh my uniform conduct and declarations upon the same subject from the commencement of that administration to the present day. No man is better acquainted with my conduct and declarations upon this subject than you are, as our intercourse and candid expression of opinion upon political subjects, as well as upon all others, have been unbroken since July, 1796. It is probable that you will be addressed upon this subject by some of your old congressional friends. All I ask of you is an explicit declaration of what you know my conduct to have been since 1796 in relation to the Federal party, and especially to the administration of Mr. Adams, with permission to use the information given, according to the judgment of the person to whom it may be addressed. If you should deem it proper to write to any of your friends, without being previously addressed upon this subject, the same permission might be useful.

The attack made upon you by Lewis produced very animated declarations of confidence in your judicial rectitude on the part of a number of your old friends. Governor Wright was among the foremost. In the senate you have many warm friends. General Smith of Maryland, Governor Lloyd, Mr. Talbot, Judge Ruggles, General Taylor of Indiana, and last, though not least, Colonel Williams of Tennessee. I forget whether you are acquainted with Thos. H. Williams or Governor Holmes of Mississippi. They are excellent men, and sound politicians. Your old friends, Lacock, Beaver of Pennsylvania and Roberts of Norristown, Penn., will be glad to hear from you. Mr. Macon has frequently enquired after you. The election of General Smith and of Governor Branch to the senate has restored the equilibrium in the senate, which had been deranged by the resignation of Major Walker and the rejection of Judge Smith. Judge Thomas and Thos. H. Williams have been re-elected, and no doubt is entertained that Colonel Williams will be re-elected. In Delaware no apprehension is entertained of a change for the worse, and it is believed that the change in New Hampshire is for the better. (Governor Bell is for Mr. Morrill, who, by the by, is a very correct man, but probably not equal in talents to his successor).

I shall not frank this letter, and shall send it by the way of Knoxville.

My family is well with the exception of colds. The

weather for eight or ten days has been very severe. The river is again closed, after being open for more than ten days. Mrs. Crawford unites with me in respectful regards to Mrs. Tait and yourself.

Yours, etc.,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Honorable Charles Tait.

P. S.—Let me hear from you as early and as often as possible. I shall not visit Georgia this summer. It is whispered that my enemies are about to republish Clark's book. I am now able to prove, what I always knew, that he did interfere with the grand juries in 1803 to obtain the recommendations. The assertion with which he set out in his book, that such recommendations had been usual, is proved to be false by the records of the courts.

It is horrible to be annoyed in this way, even when the effects are more injurious to the character of the assailant than of the assailed. He, however, has but little to lose—the risk is therefore very unequal.

What shall be done if it is republished? That is the question.

W. H. C.

Honorable Charles Tait,

Fort Claiborne, Ala., Via Knoxville, in Tennessee.

MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CALHOUN.

WOODLAWN, 2nd Oct., 1830.

Sir: Since the adjournment of congress, the copy of a letter from you to the President containing eleven sheets, has been placed in my hands. The object of this labored essay is to prove that a statement contained in a letter from me to the Hon. John Forsyth, of the senate of the United States, is incorrect. If there was no evidence but that which is contained in that essay, I should not be afraid of convincing every rational and unprejudiced mind that my statement to Mr. Forsyth is substantially correct.

In the brief comment which I intend to make upon your essay of eleven sheets, I propose to avoid the example you have set them in three things, viz: I shall not begin by depreciating the official dignity and weight of character of the person I address; when I meet with a fact that I cannot frankly and distinctly deny, I will not attempt to prove a negative by argument; and I shall not falsely and hypocritically profess a forbearance which I do not feel.

I shall first notice your observations upon the disclosure of the secrets of the cabinet, which you say is the first that has occurred, at least in this country. Do you really believe this assertion, Mr. Calhoun? How did the written opinion of Messrs. Jefferson and Hamilton, on the first bank bill, ever see the light? How were the facts and circumstances which preceded and accompanied the removal of Edmund Randolph from the state department, by General Washington, disclosed and made known to the public? If your assertion be true, those facts and circumstances would, at this moment, be buried in Egyptian darkness. While a cabinet is in existence

and its usefulness liable to be impaired, reason and common sense point out the propriety of keeping its proceedings secret. But after the cabinet no longer exists, when its usefulness cannot be impaired by the disclosure of its proceedings, neither reason, common sense, nor patriotism, requires that those proceedings should be shrouded in impenetrable darkness. The acts of such a cabinet become history, and the nation has the same right to a knowledge of them that it has to any other historical fact. It is presumed that all nations have entertained this opinion, and have acted upon it. Whence the secret history of cabinets, the most despotic in Europe. Hence the history of the house of Stuart, by Charles James Fox, which discloses the most secret intercourse between Charles the II and the French minister, by which it was proven that Charles was a pensioner of Louis the XIV, king of France, and had secretly engaged to re-establish popery in England. Yet in the face of all these facts, you dare to presume upon the ignorance of the distinguished person you were addressing, so far as to insinuate that such disclosures had never been made in any country, but certainly not in the republic.

The next thing which I shall observe is, the manner in which you attempt to obtain evidence to controvert my statement to Mr. Forsyth. That statement contained one prominent and distinct fact; everything else in that statement was secondary and collateral to that fact. It was reasonable, in controverting that statement, that you should have sought to obtain evidence to controvert that fact. You apply to Mr. Monroe and Mr. Wirt for evidence. But of what? Not of the principal fact, but of secondary collateral matter. The omission to appeal to Mr. Monroe whether you made the proposition ascribed to you in my letter to Mr. Forsyth is strong, presumptive evidence that you believed his answer would confirm my statement. You remembered the excitement which your proposition produced in the mind and upon the feelings of the President, and did not dare to ask him any question tending to revive his recollection of that proposition. The different manner in which you approach the President and Mr. Wirt, even upon the collateral secondary fact upon which you do venture to interrogate them, proceeds from the same fact that made you avoid interrogating them upon the principal fact. When you make the inquiry of Mr. Wirt, you enclose him such an extract from my letter as informs him of the nature of the evidence you are in search of, because, I presume you believed, that extract would not tend to refresh his memory, or relied implicitly upon Mr. Wirt's disposition to give such evidence as you desired from him. But you were apprehensive that the same extract sent to Mr. Monroe might refresh his memory and enable him to give such an answer as would not suit your views. The extract of my letter sent to Mr. Wirt described facts and circumstances in which Mr. Monroe was a principal actor. It was therefore deemed unsafe to submit them to him. The excitement produced upon the President was so manifest that you did not believe it could have escaped the attention of Mr. Wirt; you therefore believed it unsafe to interrogate him as to your proposition personally affecting General Jackson. Mr. Mon-

roe says not a word tending to show that the confidential letter was not produced and read in the cabinet, which was not suggested by Mr. Wirt. Every tyro in the science of law will tell you that it is a rule of evidence that one affirmative witness outweighs many negatives; but although you were at the bar several years, it is possible your law learning never ascended so high. I might safely rest the case here; but I will produce one affirmative witness in support of the accuracy of the statement, opposed as it is by Mr. Wirt's negative statement. The Hon. Benjamin W. Crowninshield, in a letter dated 26th July, 1830, says, "you ask if I recollect, while in the council of the cabinet, of a letter written by General Jackson to the President Monroe? I do recollect of a conversation about a private letter which Mr. Calhoun, I believe, asked for, and the President said he had not got it, but upon examination found he had it. This letter contained information and opinions respecting Spain and her colony, the Floridas; but the particulars I cannot now undertake to say or state correctly. I remember, I think, your stating that the circumstances then spoken of did fully explain General Jackson's conduct during the campaign. I remember, too, that Mr. Calhoun was severe upon the conduct of the general, but the words particularly spoken have slipped my recollection." Now, sir, what do you think of the negative statement of Mr. Wirt? Do you think it now so very certain that that letter was not produced and read in the cabinet upon which your memory is so distinct? Do you not, on the contrary, feel convinced of having attempted to pass off a falsehood upon the President of the United States?

The main fact contained in my statement is not denied directly or indirectly in your elaborate essay. But a negative is attempted by argument. And what kind of an argument is offered? Why, that "it would be to rate his (your) understanding very low to suppose that an officer under our laws could be punished without arrest and trial." Sir, I rate any man's understanding very low who acts with a total disregard to principle. It is true, that in addition to the argument you add, that to say you did not propose to arrest General Jackson, but that he should be punished or reprehended in some form or other, is absurd on its face. What need is there for arrest and trial preparatory to reprimand? But is it indeed true that a military officer cannot be punished without arrest and trial? Was not the disapprobation in the case of the Seminole war a punishment? I think General Jackson must have felt it to be such. I should have opposed it, if I had seen any way of placing the government in the right as to Spain; without disavowing the principal events of the Seminole war.

If you are not satisfied with the evidence of Mr. Crowninshield, Mr. Adams, in a letter dated 30th July, 1830, says: "The main point upon which it was urged that General Jackson should be brought to trial was, that he had violated his orders by taking St. Marks and Pensacola." It is true that Mr. Adams does not say by whom it was urged to bring General Jackson to trial; but you know well that there was no proposition made in the cabinet affecting General Jackson.

personally, but what was made by yourself. If you deny this, I will obtain the necessary explanation from Mr. Adams. It may be proper to state, that the two letters from Messrs. Adams and Crowninshield are the only communications I have received from them since my departure from Washington, and they are in reply to the only letters I have written to them since the aforesaid period. There has been as little sympathy, either individual or political, between those gentlemen and me as between them and you, and in fact, much less between Mr. Adams and myself than between him and you; at least before the coalition between him and Clay. In fact, before that event, my impression was, that from the time your name was put down for the Presidency, you favored the cause of Mr. Adams. And the fact that all his electors voted for you as Vice-President, and that you suffered his printer to become proprietor of the press you had established in Washington for the express purpose of vilifying my character and lauding yours, without stipulating that it should not be wielded against General Jackson, go far to establish the fact. I have now done with your argumentative denial and the negative evidence of Mr. Wirt, backed by your distinct recollection.

I shall now take some notice of your attacks upon me, which with the exception of Mr. McDuffie's letter, are all argumentative, and principally founded upon that letter.

For the present I shall say nothing about that letter or the reasoning founded upon it. You express much forbearance towards me, because you say I have been unfortunate. What do you mean by unfortunate? If you mean that I have much bodily affliction you are right; but, thank God, those afflictions are past, and I am now, and have been for more than three years, in the enjoyment of vigorous, uninterrupted health. But if by unfortunate, you mean that I was not elected President in 1824-5, I must beg leave to dissent from the truth of that assertion. I am conscious of being less unfortunate than you were. You, after obtruding your name upon the nation as a candidate for the Presidency, in a manner until then unknown, and I trust will never be repeated, and conducted yourself in the same unprecedented manner while your name was permitted to be in, were put down by the state of Pennsylvania, upon which you affected to rely for success. My name was put up by my friends for the same office, and by them was kept up, notwithstanding my bodily afflictions, till the election was consummated in the house of representatives in February, 1825. No man in the nation was better pleased at my exclusion than I was; for I then verily believed, and I do now believe, that had I been elected, my remains would now be reposing in the national burying ground, near the eastern branch of the Potomac. I was therefore far from considering myself unfortunate in the result of the election in the house of representatives.

Your forbearance towards me has been affected because you believed you could more effectually injure me. I request that hereafter, if you should have occasion to write or speak of me, you will not again feign a forbearance you do not feel.

You affect to lament that my friends did not interfere

and prevent my meddling with this matter. I make no doubt that you would have been very glad to have been spared the trouble of making so elaborate a comment upon a letter of three pages. I make no doubt that you dislike the idea of being exposed and stripped of the covert you have been enjoying under the President's wings, by means of falsehood and misrepresentation. You assert that my suspicion that you wrote, or caused to be written, the letter which was published in a Nashville Gazette, is without foundation. A man who knows as well as I do, the small weight of which any assertion of yours is entitled, in a matter where your interest leads you to disregard the truth, must have other evidence than your assertion to remove even a suspicion. You ask why not charge Mr. Adams with having written, or caused that letter to be written? The answer is easy and conclusive. That letter contained two falsehoods—one intended to injure me; the other intended to benefit you; and that which was for your benefit, taking from Mr. Adams half the credit of defending General Jackson, and giving it to you. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Adams was disposed to injure me, no one will, I think, suppose that he would voluntarily ascribe half the merits of his own actions to the man who was the most strenuous opposer of his wishes. If the intrinsic evidence of the letter fixes it upon you and not upon Mr. Adams, subsequent events strongly corroborate the inference deducible from the contents of the published letter. During the whole of the Presidential canvas of '23, '24, I have no recollection of any act of Mr. Adams tending to vilify me; but you know that you set up the Washington Republican, in Washington, for the express purpose of vilifying my reputation, and had the effrontery and shamelessness to cause it to be published by a clerk in the department, whose tenure of office was your will. The facts which I have stated will exonerate Mr. Adams from the charge of having any concern with the Nashville letter, and fix that charge upon you in the estimation of reasonable men, your denial to the contrary notwithstanding.

You place great stress upon the conduct of gentlemen in congress, whom you assert to be my friends. This is what might be expected from a man of your loose principles, or rather no principles. My friends in congress were men who would have been insulted had any man, however elevated, approached them in the language of entreaty and persuasion. I never did, and never would, if I were to live a thousand years, interfere with a man who was acting under the obligations of an oath, to persuade or entreat him to act contrary to the convictions of his own judgment; and if I were such member, and any man, however elevated he might be, were to interfere with me by way of entreaty or persuasion, I should feel myself insulted, and should certainly insult the person so interfering. The only conversation I recollect ever to have participated in with a member of congress, in reference to the foregoing subject, was with Mr. Cobb, at my own house in the presence of Mr. Macon, of North Carolina. In that conversation I supported General Jackson's right to put Ambrister to death. Mr. Macon, I believe, was convinced; but I am not

certain that Mr. Cobb was. That gentleman acted in concert with Mr. Clay in the part he acted in the discussion upon the Seminole war. Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Lacock were men of high character and experience, and leaned upon no person. Mr. Eppes made a speech in favor of the report which was intended to be made, and was, in consequence, placed on the committee in place of Mr. Forsyth. I wonder you had not discovered that he, too, was a particular friend of mine.

You say that, as it appears from Mr. McDuffie's letter, I had no scruples about disclosing the secrets of the cabinet; I had it in my power to change the opinions of my friends by disclosing the contents of the confidential letter. No person who had a proper regard for the feelings or character of Mr. Monroe could make use of that letter, for it was manifestly written under the impression that Mr. Monroe was capable of that duplicity which would connive at the execution of a measure, and disavow it after it was executed. I must confess, had I been president, I should not have been flattered by its reception. If I had, as you erroneously represent me, been little scrupulous about disclosing the secrets of the cabinet, which is positively denied, notwithstanding Mr. McDuffie's statement, I should have made no use of that letter, and this from respect to Mr. Monroe's feelings and character.

In the whole course of my life I have been as much in the habit of uttering my opinions and stating facts as they were known to me, when made proper by time and place, that when I am charged, after any lapse of time, with having uttered opinions or made statements of facts, I do not hesitate to admit such opinions were uttered, or statement of facts made, if the opinions correspond with those I entertained, or with the knowledge of facts I then possessed; but when I am charged with uttering opinions I never entertained, or with making statement of facts, inconsistent with my knowledge of them at the time they are alleged to have been made, or under circumstances not rendering the disclosure proper, I have as little hesitation in declaring the charge false. Applying this rule to Mr. McDuffie's letter, I have no hesitation in saying he is mistaken in every part of it. I can account for his mistake in the first part of his statement. In my letter to Mr. Forsyth I state that, previous to Mr. Monroe's return to the city, you, in a private conversation with me, stated your determination to pursue the course in the cabinet you did, and that I approved of it. Mr. McDuffie has applied this conversation to the cabinet deliberations, and has made me a proof of your proposition unfriendly to General Jackson, which I aver is untrue, and you yourself know it to be untrue. At the time of this private conversation I had never seen the orders under which General Jackson acted, nor any of his dispatches, nor heard of the confidential letter. I relied upon the accuracy of your representations, and according to them General Jackson appeared clearly in the wrong, and I did not hesitate to tell you I thought you in the right. At the time I visited Georgia I have no recollection that General Jackson had adopted any measures to forestall public opinion, and thereby to anticipate the decision of the admin-

istration; nor have I at this moment any recollection of the existence of any such measure. If none such existed, and I believe none existed, then it is utterly impossible that I should have expressed myself as Mr. McDuffie makes me. I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying, the whole of Mr. McDuffie's statement is a mistake. I say nothing of the motives of Mr. McDuffie in making the statement, because I do not know them; but this I will say, that Mr. McDuffie has, upon a former occasion, shown a willingness to injure and asperse me. It is somewhat doubtful for what purpose Mr. McDuffie's statement was obtained, as his statement has no direct bearing upon the facts stated in my letter to Mr. Forsyth. It appears to me on reflection, that the principal object in obtaining it was to impeach my veracity; if that was the object I have no fear of the result, where he and I are known. To give you a Rowland for your Oliver read the enclosed extract of the letter of Captain Ross. I know nothing of the correctness of his statement, farther than that he made the statement to me in substance before he left Washington, and further added, that he communicated his impression to a military officer residing in Washington, and attached to the war department, who told him that was no matter of surprise; that the officers attached to the department had made that discovery before. I have left the name of the officer a blank, as I was unwilling to involve him in a controversy with you, without his consent.

You say that the decision of the cabinet was unanimously agreed to. This I believe to be untrue, and I believe you knew it to be untrue at the time you wrote it. My reasons are the following: The cabinet deliberations commenced on Tuesday morning, and on Friday evening all the questions which had been discussed were, I thought, decided, and Mr. Adams directed to draft a note to the Spanish minister, conformable to those decisions. I intended to set off for Georgia on Sunday morning, and in order to prepare the department for my absence I was busily employed in office, when about one or two o'clock I received a note from the President requiring my attendance. When I entered the greatest part of Mr. Adams' note had been rejected, and the remainder was shortly after, and he was directed to draft another note pursuant to the decision which had been made. The next morning I set off for Georgia. Mr. Adams' letter, which is now before me, contains a repetition of the arguments he used in the cabinet; and in the letter he informs me that the exposition which appeared in the Intelligencer was not written by him. From all these facts, I think it is fairly inferable that Mr. Adams did not agree to the decision of the cabinet, and that you must have known it; for it is clear that he did not agree to it on Saturday; and it is highly improbable that any arguments should have been urged to convince him after he had been twice directed to draft his note in conformity to the decisions which had been previously made.

You dwell with much stress upon the lapse of time since those deliberations, and seem to be unconscious that the same lapse of time applies to all your certificates, negative and affirmative.

You seem to repose full confidence on Mr. McDuffie's recollection, although it was of a casual conversation, not likely to make the same impression upon the mind as the facts contained in my letter to Mr. Forsyth. You even refer to your recollection of a very trivial fact which you say happened during the next session of congress. I have now a letter before me, dated in October, 1821, in which I state to you, that you had a short time before informed me that your memory could not be relied upon as to facts. You wrote me a letter the next day, in which you did not controvert that fact; yet, now after a lapse of twelve years, you rely upon your memory for a very trivial fact, viz: your application to see that private confidential letter, because you had received some hints about it, and you believed from some of my friends. Do you not perceive some inconsistency in your essay? You had just censured me for not using this letter, and then insinuate that I had used it, as you seem to think I ought to have used it. In truth, I do not believe one word of your insinuation, nor do I believe you do, for the reason I have already stated; I know I never made use of it. But you insinuate that I made disclosures of the secrets of the cabinet to the editor of a newspaper in Milledgeville, because General Clark suspected it, and because I never denied it. I never knew that I was charged with it except in General Clark's book, and there the evidence offered in support of it was so ridiculous that no person, less ignorant and malignant than General Clark, would have paid the least attention to it. Besides, if I had denied that charge, and not gone through his book, and denied every charge in it, however ridiculous, it would have been alleged by you and your co-laborers that the charges not denied were admitted. But, sir, since you renew the charge, I give it the most unqualified denial. The editor of the paper alluded to, said in my presence that he had been informed that it had been proposed in the cabinet to arrest General Jackson. I simply replied, that no such proposition had been made in the cabinet.

Let us apply your own rule to you, and see how you will stand the test of your own reasoning. A Charleston paper of last March stated that you had been charged with participation in the Ninian Edwards' plot against my reputation. Have you ever denied this charge?

Again, you have been charged in the South Carolina papers with being a nullifier. Mr. Gales has denied this for you; but have you denied it yourself? Have you ever considered the ridiculous figure you may cut in the sequel, if this nullification advances much farther?

In 1816 you were among the foremost in avowing the expediency and right of protecting domestic manufactures. Now your disciples deny the right, and propose to nullify an act of congress, founded upon the principle of protection. You may depend upon it, if you and your friends should proceed so far as to incur the guilt, and suffer the punishment of treason and unsuccessful rebellion you will meet with no sympathy among the sister states.

I have said that Mr. Wirt's negative statement is the only evidence you have in support of your negative assertion;

that the confidential letter was not produced and read in the cabinet. For proof of this read the enclosed extract of Mr. Monroe's letter, by which it will be seen that, having no reliance upon his own recollection, he applied to Mr. Wirt for information, and he candidly and very properly adds, "still, as the question turns on memory alone, Mr. Wirt, as well as I, may be mistaken, and in regard to me, as I was sick in bed when I received the letter, that presumption is the more probable."

You appear to boast of the services you rendered General Jackson in his utmost need. What those services were you have not condescended to state in your very elaborate essay. Nor have I heard them hinted at before. Perhaps your meritorious services were in entreating and persuading members of congress to approve acts that you deemed worthy of punishment when deliberating in the cabinet. I will, however, not dwell upon this topic. If you satisfy the President that you rendered him essential service I have no objection that you be rewarded for it. What I object to is, you should be rewarded for ascribing to me your own acts.

You say that to place General Jackson's defense upon the confidential letter is to do him an injury, and that he in his reports never rested it upon that ground. Whether this be true or not, I have no means of judging. But, in the course of the subsequent winter I saw an essay in a Nashville paper in which the writer asserted that the administration knew before General Jackson entered Florida that he intended to take Spanish forts; and that knowing it, and not countermanding it, the administration had made his acts their own, and were not at liberty to disavow them. I carried this letter to the President, and requested him to read the essay, giving him my opinion that the essay was either written under General Jackson's immediate inspection, or by a person that had access to his private papers; for, that the confidential letter was evidently referred to. A short time after he returned the Gazette saying he entirely concurred with me in opinion. Extract No. 2 of his letter shows that Mr. Monroe now recollects the circumstances, to which my letter to him called his attention.

I must take some further notice of Mr. Wirt's negative statement before I close this commentary. Mr. Wirt commences his letter by expressing doubts about disclosing the secrets of the cabinet without the consent of the President, and every member of the cabinet present. I suppose the squeamishness of Mr. Wirt suggested to you the very wise declaration you have ventured upon the same subject. Mr. Wirt's squeamishness yields to the consideration that you only request information as to your own part in the declarations of the cabinet. This he gravely assents to, and then states that you proposed an inquiry into general Jackson's conduct. He then proceeds with nearly two pages, stating what he does not recollect. All that he does not recollect, I do distinctly recollect, and so does Mr. Crowninshield. But what he does not recollect is arrayed by you as evidence against what I and Mr. Crowninshield do recollect. And Mr. Wirt, from his manner of stating his non-recollections, seems disposed to

countenance the use you have made of his negative statements. You are welcome to it, and to the reasoning with which he has supplied you. Since the dissolution of Mr. Monroe's cabinet I have not felt myself restrained from disclosing any fact that transpired in it. While it existed I disclosed none of its secrets, and whosoever says I did says what is not true. I know of no intrigues to injure you or any other person, either directly or indirectly. Had I been called on in the year 1825, after the 3d of March, as I was called on by Mr. Forsyth last spring, I should have made the same disclosures then that I made to Mr. Forsyth. Whether Mr. Wirt remembers the facts contained in my statement is perfectly indifferent to me, even if Mr. Crowninshield had not remembered them. But his recollection of the facts is almost as distinct as mine. Mr. Adams' recollection is, that it was proposed to bring General Jackson to trial, and Mr. Crowninshield's that you were severe upon the conduct of the general.

I believe both of these gentlemen have given the impression that your arguments made upon their minds. Indeed neither of them have intended to give your express words. I am, therefore, notwithstanding their statements, of opinion that the proposition ascribed to you in my letter to Mr. Forsyth is thereby correct, although "it may be to rate his (your) understanding very low, and may be absurd on its face." I believe I have now gone through your tedious essay, and have been much more tedious than I expected to be; but your insinuations have been so multifarious and various that I could not well be shorter, and I have not time to revise it and make it shorter. A few words more about conspiracies. General Noble informed me that for about two weeks before Ninian Edwards set off to the west, in 1823, he lodged in the same house with him, and that a person in going to Edwards' room had to pass by his, and that during that time you paid a daily visit to his (Edwards') room, and spent from one to two hours with him. He sent his memorial back to Washington while he was on his journey; it is therefore highly probable that the most of it was written in Washington and reviewed and revised by you during your daily visits to that compeer of yours. Every person who knew Edwards was convinced he never would have ventured upon such a step without having received assurances from persons he deemed capable of protecting him. Your letter of the third of July to the managers of the Fourth of July dinner in Washington was considered at the time an act redeeming the pledge of protection you had given him. It is true Mr. Adams and Mr. McLean united with you in the letter. Mr. Adams' motive for signing it was apparent. Edwards was his political supporter. His son-in-law held the vote of Illinois in his hands, without which it appeared in the event, Mr. Adams could not have been elected. Mr. Adams, therefore, had an adequate political motive for doing the act. You could have had no such motive, nor could Mr. McLean, I believe, have had any other motive for his conduct than that of subserviency to your wishes, and a desire to enable you to fulfill your promise to Edwards. From the time General Noble gave me the information, and that you signed the letter of the 3d of July,

I never doubted that the plot against my reputation was your handi-work, and originated in your brain so fertile in mischief. And yet you complain of intrigues and conspiracies. I have, through my whole life, been a plain, thorough-going man. When difficulties have arisen I have honestly met them, and under the protection of the shield of integrity have vanquished them. I am now too old to adopt a new course of conduct. I am in retirement, and have no wish to emerge from that retirement.

I had like to have forgot your charge of infringing the purity of the electoral colleges. I wrote the letter to Mr. Barry of which you complain, and that was not the only letter. But at the time that letter was written I had no information that the electors of Kentucky were pledged to vote for you as Vice-President; nor have I any other evidence now before me than your assertion, which every person as well acquainted with you as I am will admit to be very slender evidence. I wrote no letter to any state where I knew the electors were pledged to vote for Vice-President.

You seem to think I am under the influence of resentment. You are mistaken. Resentment is only felt against equals or superiors, and never against inferiors. From the time you established the Washington Republican for the purpose of slandering and vilifying my reputation, I considered you a degraded, a disgraced man, for whom no man of honor and character could feel any other than the most sovereign contempt. Under this impression, I was anxious that you should be no longer Vice-President of the United States. I am, sir, your most obedient servant.

(Signed)

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

To the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Vice-President U. S.

MR. CALHOUN TO MR. CRAWFORD, RETURNING HIS
LETTER OF 2D OCT., 1830.

FORT HILL, October 30, 1830.

Sir: The last mail brought me your letter of the 2d instant, but post marked the 23d, which I herewith return.

I cannot consent to correspond with you on the subject to which it refers. The controversy is not with you, but General Jackson. You, from the first, voluntarily assumed the character of the informer. Under that character only can I know you, which of course precludes all communication between us in relation to the controversy, except through General Jackson. Regarding you in the light I do, you may rest assured that no abuse on your part, however coarse, nor charges against me, however false, can possibly provoke me to raise you to the level of a principal by substituting you in the place of General Jackson in the correspondence. Should you, however, submit to the degradation of the position which you have thus voluntarily taken, and will send this or any

other statement to General Jackson, and induce him to make it the subject of any further communication to me, as confirming in his opinion your former statement, or weakening my refutation, I will be prepared, by the most demonstrative proof, drawn from the paper itself, to show such palpable errors in your present statement as to destroy all confidence in your assertions; leaving it, however, to those who have the best means of judging to determine whether the want of truth be owing to a decayed memory or some other cause.

Having been taught by the past the necessity of taking all possible precaution where I have anything to do with you, I deem it prudent not to deprive myself of the advantage which your paper affords me, and have accordingly taken a copy as a precautionary measure. I am, etc.,

J. C. CALHOUN.

W. H. Crawford, Esq.

MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. FORSYTH.

WOODLAWN, 30th APRIL, 1830.

My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 16th was received by Sunday's mail, together with its enclosure. I recollect having conversed with you at the time and place, and upon the subject, in that enclosure stated, but I have not a distinct recollection of what I said to you, but I am certain there is one error in your statement of that conversation to Mr. —. I recollect distinctly what passed in the cabinet meeting, referred to in your letter to Mr. —.

Mr. Calhoun's proposition in the cabinet was, that General Jackson should be punished in some form, or reprehended in some form; I am not positively certain which. As Mr. Calhoun did not propose to arrest General Jackson, I feel confident that I could not have made use of that word in my relation to you of the circumstances which transpired in the cabinet, as I have no recollection of ever having designedly misstated any transaction in my life, and most sincerely believe I never did. My apology for having disclosed what passed in a cabinet meeting is this: In the summer after that meeting, an extract of a letter from Washington was published in a Nashville paper, in which it was stated that I had proposed to arrest General Jackson, but that he was triumphantly defended by Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Adams. This letter, I always believed, was written by Mr. Calhoun, or by his directions. It had the desired effect. General Jackson became extremely inimical to me, and friendly to Mr. Calhoun. In stating the arguments to Mr. Adams to induce Mr. Monroe to support General Jackson's conduct throughout, adverting to Mr. Monroe's apparent admission, that if a young officer had acted so he might be safely punished. Mr. Adams said, that if General Jackson had acted so, that if he was a subaltern officer, shooting was too good for him. This, however, was said with a view of driving Mr. Monroe to an unlimited support of what General Jackson had done, and not with an unfriendly view to the General. Indeed, my own views on the subject had undergone a material change after the cabinet had been convened. Mr. Calhoun

made some allusion to a letter the General had written to the President, who had forgotten that he had received such a letter, but said, if he had received such a one, he could find it, and went directly to his cabinet, and brought the letter out. In it General Jackson approved of the determination of the government to break up Amelia island and Galveztown, and gave it also as his opinion that the Floridas ought to be taken by the United States. He added it might be a delicate matter for the Executive to decide; but if the President approved of it, he had only to give a hint to some confidential member of Congress, say Johnny Ray, and he would do it, and take the responsibility of it on himself. I asked the President if the letter had been answered. He replied, no; for that he had no recollection of having received it. I then said that I had no doubt that General Jackson, in taking Pensacola, believed he was doing what the Executive wished. After that the letter was produced, unanswered I should have opposed the infliction of punishment upon the General, who had considered the silence of the President as a tacit consent; yet it was after this letter was produced and read, that Mr. Calhoun made his proposition to the cabinet for punishing the General. You may show this letter to Mr. Calhoun, if you please. With the foregoing corrections of what passed in the cabinet, your account of it to Mr. — is correct. Indeed, there is but one inaccuracy in it, and one omission. What I have written beyond is a mere amplification of what passed in the cabinet. I do not know that I ever hinted at the letter of the General to the President; yet that letter had a most important bearing upon the deliberations of the cabinet, at least in my mind, and possibly in the minds of Mr. Adams and the President; but neither expressed any opinion upon the subject. It seems it had none upon the mind of Mr. Calhoun, for it made no changes in his conduct.

I am, dear sir, your friend,

And most obedient servant,

Hon. John Forsyth.

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Hon. William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury.

Washington 10 February 1825

My dear Sir

I avail myself of the first moment after being notified
of the issue of yesterday's election, to express to you my wish and hope that you
will consent to remain at the head of the Department of the Treasury

I am with great respect, Dear Sir, your very humble
and obedient
John Quincy Adams.

Fac-simile of original now in possession of Mr. W. H. C. Dudley, the grand-son of Crawford.

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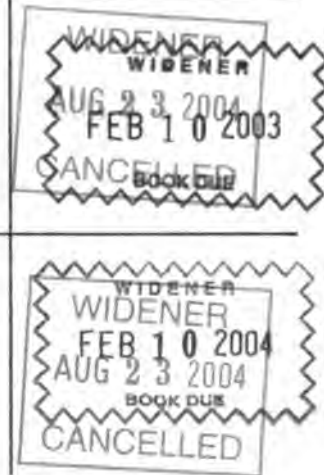
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